CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

5301

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

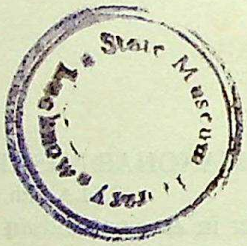
A study of political history, social and cultural life of northern India during the reign of Yaśovarman

SHYAM MANOHAR MISHRA
M.A., Ph.D.
Lecturer in Ancient Indian
History and Archaeology
Lucknow University
Lucknow

ABHINAV PUBLICATIONS NEW DELHI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

5301



Published under the auspices of Lucknow University, Lucknow, under the University Grants Commission scheme of assistance to universities for the publication of learned/research work including doctoral theses during the 5th Plan period.

© Shyam Manohar Mishra, 1977

First Edition 1977

PUBLISHER Shakti Malik
Abhinav Publications
E-37 Hauz Khas
New Delhi-110016

PRINTER Composed by Sunil Composing Co.
C-241 Mayapuri Phase II
Printed at
Ruby Offset Works
New Delhi-110064

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

To
My Father
Shri S.R. Mishra

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Preface

Situated on a cliff on the bank of the Gaṅgā in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh, Kanauj held a very advantageous position both politically and commercially.[1] Notwithstanding these favourable factors, this city emerged into political prominence as late as the time of the Maukharis. The downfall of the Gupta empire was followed by the decentralisation of politics and rise of parochial powers. And Kanauj under the Maukharis and Magadha under the Later Guptas became the main foci of north Indian politics. Then a protracted struggle ensued between the two and the centre of political gravity was shifted from Pāṭaliputra to Kanauj. Subsequently, the days of Harṣa witnessed the *neplus ultra* of its glory. But his death was followed by the fragmentation of his empire and fissiparous forces once again made their appearance. The history of Kanauj relapsed into obscurity and confusion which prevailed there for about seventy years. Then arose Yaśovarman who restored its political prominence and cultural splendour. The empire built by him may fairly be compared with that of Harṣa. And like the latter, Yaśovarman was a playwright, patron of letters and promoter of cultural heritage. Therefore, when independent volumes have been written on Harṣa, Yaśovarman, too, deserves a similar treatment.

Distinguished scholars like G. Bühler, S.P. Pandit, N.B. Utgikar, A. Cunningham, M.A. Stein, H. Jacobi, V.A. Smith, F. Kielhorn, J. Hertel, P.C. Bagchi, A.B. Keith, A.F.R. Hoernle, H. Goetz, R.G. Bhandarkar, J.A. Page, Hirananda Sastri, R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Mrithyunjayan, K.P. Jayaswal, E.A. Pires, S.K. Aiyangar, R.G. Basak, R.S. Tripathi, S.C. Ray, A.R. Barua, S.C. Vidyabhusana, P.V. Kane, V.V. Mirashi, R.D. Banerji, Adris Banerji, B.P. Sinha, Dasharatha Sharma, V. Raghavan, Buddha Prakash, Jan Yun-hua and others have

1. For details see chapter III, part II.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

made valuable contributions to several aspects of Yaśovarman's history and cultural life of his times. But a comprehensive work covering all aspects of the history of the Kanauj king with the picture of social and cultural life of his period was a desideratum. Besides, some problems of his history have not yet been touched, some require elaboration, while others are to be reassessed by a careful study of the old evidence and in the light of later researches and discoveries. The present monograph which substantially represents my Thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D., by the University of Lucknow in 1971, fills up this gap. It could not be published earlier due to certain unavoidable difficulties. But the delay has enabled me to make its thorough revision and to incorporate the suggestions of Prof. A.L. Basham and B.P. Sinha, the examiners of the Thesis.

The volume consists of seven chapters. The first chapter surveys sources in a chronological order and assesses the data contained therein. Unfortunately, the records which throw direct light on the political and cultural history of Yaśovarman's period are not many, and the information furnished by them is inadequate and fragmentary. Therefore, besides tapping all contemporary direct and indirect sources having the slightest bearing on the subject, the relevant records of a little earlier and later periods have also been utilised. The works of much later date include the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa (c. 1150 A.D.) and a few Jaina works of the 13th and 14th centuries. In this chapter, we have discussed in particular the title and historical value of the *Gauḍavaho*. A detailed note has also been added on the date and historical data of the Nālandā stone inscription. The evidence furnished by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the Jaina works has also been assessed. Kalhaṇa's account is generally overrated, whereas the information of the Jaina sources is not given its due weight. The present author has shown that such extreme views require modification; and we can neither accept all that Kalhaṇa says, nor summarily reject the information of the Jaina writers. Thus a critical review of these sources brings to light several hitherto unnoticed points.

Chapter II briefs the political condition of northern India from the death of Harṣa upto the rise of Yaśovarman. This account brings into bold relief the state of political disintegration and obscurity, acquainting us with the circumstances which

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

paved the way for the emergence of imperious rulers like Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya, Nāgabhaṭa I and others. It also throws light on their mutual relations and probable cause or causes of their clashes. The history of Kanauj in particular is shrouded in obscurity during this interregnum, and we have made an attempt to reconstruct it. Besides, some important problems related to the history of Magadha and Gauḍa, and to that of the Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī, Cāḷukyas of Lāṭa, Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Arab invaders are also discussed, and a few new suggestions have been offered.

Third chapter is divided into four parts. Part I deals with the lineage, early life and reign-period of Yaśovarman. He is generally regarded either as an isolated ruler, or a scion of the Maukharis of Kanauj. But a careful scrutiny of the cumulative evidence of the *Gauḍavaho*, the Mathura inscription and the Jaina works goes against both the surmises, and leads us to infer that Yaśovarman belonged to a Later Maurya family. The earlier views on the reign-period of Yaśovarman have also been assessed and we have placed it between c. 720 and 750-53 A.D. The second part treats of the conquests of the Kanauj king and the extent of his dominions. Here the author has critically evaluated Vākpati's account of his patron's *digvijaya* and given a very comprehensive treatment to Yaśovarman's conquests. An attempt has been made probably for the first time to identify the king of Gauḍa killed by Yaśovarman. The extent of Yaśovarman's kingdom has been treated in greater detail than before, considerably improving the views of earlier scholars.

In the third part, we have discussed the causes, consequences and date of Yaśovarman's battle with Lalitāditya. Most of the scholars have hitherto agreed with Jacobi who fixed August 14, 733 A.D. as the date of Lalitāditya's invasion of Kanauj and also of the defeat of Yaśovarman. For the first time, Jacobi's contention based entirely on astronomical grounds has been thoroughly scrutinised and proved baseless. And an analysis of the evidence leads us to deduce that this fateful fight had taken place after 736 and before 749-53 A.D. The last part brings to light important aspects of Yaśovarman's personality *viz.* his statesmanship, literary merits, patronage to letters, religious beliefs and building activity. These so far little noticed aspects

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

have been given a critical and comprehensive treatment with the addition of several new facts and arguments.

Fourth chapter discusses the most puzzling and hitherto neglected problem of the successors of Yaśovarman. Several scholars take him to be an upstart, while some even connect him with the Āyudhas and other dynasties. These views have been thoroughly revised here for the first time. The evidence of the Jaina works which has so far been either completely ignored or not given its due weight, clearly bears out that the rule of Yaśovarman's family did not end with his death, but was continued by his three successors *viz.* Āma, Dunduka and Bhoja. They ruled for a fairly long time with their headquarters first at Kanauj and later at Gwālior. Besides, it has also been convincingly shown that the identification of king Āma Nāgāvaloka with the Pratihāra potentate Nāgabhaṭa II has nothing to commend it, and that he (Āma Nāgāvaloka) was the son of Yaśovarman.

Fifth chapter deals with kingship, administrative organisation and judicial system. Bhavabhūti probably being alive to the danger posed by the Arab invasions, expressly emphasised the efficacy of *vīra-rasa*, and edified imperialism as well as king's duties as a protector of people and *dharma*. He visualised an ideal state headed by an ideal ruler. As regards judicial system, we have brought to light interesting information from the commentary of Asahāya and the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra, about the organisation and procedure of the courts of law, crimes and punishments.

Sixth chapter describes various aspects of social life *viz.* the *varṇas*, *āśramas*, *saṁskāras* with special reference to marriage, position of women, food and drinks, dress, ornaments, toilet, coiffure and education. Here we notice in particular an intensification in the caste-system and a decline in the position of women. Our sources also furnish important information on the rituals and ceremonies of marriage and dress of the ladies. As for education, some interesting light is thrown on the relationship between the student and teacher, subjects of study and co-education.

The last chapter treats of the religious life of the period. Here we find the final ascendancy of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Next in importance was the cult of Śakti particularly its terrific form. Yaśovarman's reign also witnessed the revival of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vedic religion and rituals. Bhavabhūti's account of the waning state of Buddhism leading to its gradual fusion into the Brahmanical religion, is perhaps most interesting and unprecedented. As regards Jainism, its influence was mainly confined to Rajasthan and Gujarat. The period on the whole was characterised by a spirit of religious tolerance and sectarian synthesis.

I express my gratitude to Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi and Prof. Lallanji Gopal but for whose help and guidance this work would not have been completed in its present form. My thanks are also due to Profs. A.L. Basham, B.P. Sinha, J.D.M. Derrett and Upendra Thakur; and to my *gurus* Drs. R.K. Dikshit, B.N. Srivastava, S.D. Singh and K.K. Thaplyal, for their valuable suggestions and encouragement. Prof. Baldeo Upadhyaya, Śrī Satkadi Mukhopadhyaya, Drs. M.L. Rastogi and Babu Ram Pandey helped me in the interpretation of certain Sanskrit and Prakrit passages; and Bhagat Dhan Pal Singh Jain checked some astronomical calculations.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. B.N. Sharma, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, for his kind suggestions. I am also grateful to my friends Dr. N.P. Rastogi, Sarvaśrī S.S. Srivastava, V.C. Dubey and P.N. Lal; and to my student Km. Bilquis Jahan, for their valuable cooperation.

To the staff of the State Museums of Lucknow, Kālpī, Mathura, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Ajmer and Jodhpur; and to that of Tagore Library, Lucknow University, State Museum Library, Lucknow, Central Library, Banaras Hindu University and Pārśvanātha Jain Research Institute, Varanasi, my thanks are due for providing me all necessary facilities. I am also grateful to the authorities of the University Grants Commission for the award of the Junior Research Fellowship, and to the University of Lucknow for granting me a subsidy of Rs. 2500 for the publication of the book. And I must not miss to thank Śrī Shakti Malik, Proprietor, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, for his unfailing efforts to bring out the Volume in a short time.

Finally I crave the indulgence of readers for any errors and imperfections that may have remained in the monograph despite my best endeavours.

S.M. MISHRA

Lucknow University
Lucknow

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Table of Transliteration

अ	a	छ	cha
आ	ā	ञ	ña
इ	i	ट	ṭa
ई	ī	ठ	ṭha
उ	u	ड	ḍa
ऊ	ū	ढ	ḍha
ऋ	ṛ	ण	ṇa
ए	e	त	ta
ऐ	ai	थ	tha
ओ	o	द	da
औ	au	ध	dha
अनुस्वार	ṁ	श	śa
विसर्ग	ḥ	ष	ṣa
ङ्	ṅ	स	sa
च्	c	क्ष	kṣa
च	ca	ज्ञ	jña

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Abbreviations

ABORI	*Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
Ādi P.	*Ādi Purāṇa* of Jinasena.
AGI	*Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S.N. Majumdar
Agni P.	*Agni Purāṇa.*
AIHC	*Aspects of Indian History and Culture*, by Buddha Prakash.
AISIHC	*Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, by S.K. Aiyangar
AMMK	*Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.*
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report.
ASIEC	*Archaeological Survey of India*, Eastern Circle.
ASIR	*Archaeological Survey of India*, Report.
ASIWC	*Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle.
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
CA	*Classical Age*, edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker.
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J.N. Banerjea.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, by H.C. Ray.
DKA	*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by F.E. Pargiter.
DKM	*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, by B.P. Sinha.
EHD	*Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yazdani.
EHI	*Early History of India*, by V.A. Smith.
FDAI	*Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, by Om Prakash.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

GD	*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, by N.L. Dey.
GK	*Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, by D.C. Sircar.
GP	*Geography of the Purāṇas*, by Muzaffar Ali.
GPEA	*Garuḍa Purāṇa Eka Adhyayana*, by A.B.L. Awasthi.
GV	*Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati.
HB	*History of Bengal*, edited by R.C. Majumdar.
HC	*Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa.
HDS	*History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P.V. Kane.
HGAI	*Historical Geography of Ancient India*, by B.C. Law.
HIPC	*Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H. Philips.
HK	*History of Kanauj*, by R.S. Tripathi.
HMHI	*History of Medieval Hindu India*, by C.V. Vaidya.
HNEI	*History of North-Eastern India*, by R.G. Basak.
HS	*Historians of Sind*, by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson.
HSL	*History of Sanskrit Literature.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Indian Culture.*
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
IHI	*Imperial History of India*, by K.P. Jayaswal.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Jain HVP	*Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena.
Jānakī	*Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBRS	*Journal of Bihar Research Society.*
JDL	*Journal of the Department of Letters.*
JIH	*Journal of the Indian History.*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain.*
Kāmandaka	*Kāmandakīyanītisāra.*

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KESA	*Kādambarī Eka Sāṅskṛtika Adhyayana*, by V.S. Agrawala.
KM	*Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara.
KURJ	*Kurukshetra University Research Journal.*
Kuṭṭanī	*Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta.*
Legge	*Record of Buddhist Kings* (an account by Fahien of his travels in India and Ceylon), by J. Legge.
Manu	*Manusmṛti.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
MM	*Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti.
MR	*Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta.
MS	*Manuscript.*
MVC	*Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti.
Nārada	*Nāradasmṛti.*
N.S.	*New Series.*
PAIOC	*Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference.*
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
PC	*Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra Sūri.*
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H.C. Raychaudhuri.
PHNI	*Political History of Northern India from the Jaina Sources*, by G.C. Choudhury.
PWHC	*Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, by A.S. Altekar.
RT	*Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa.
RV	*Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.
SAI	*State in Ancient India*, by Beni Prasad.
Śākuntala	*Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa.
Samarā (Jacobi)	*Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra, edited by H. Jacobi.
Samarā (Modi)	*Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra, edited by M.C. Modi.
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East.*
Select Inscriptions	*Select Inscriptions bearing on Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, by D.C. Sircar.
SGAI	*State and Government in Ancient India*, by A.S. Altekar.
Śiśupāla	*Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

St.GAMI	*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, by D.C. Sircar.
St.IHC	*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, by U.N. Ghoshal.
SWAI	*Status of Women in Ancient India*, by Indra.
Takakusu	*Record of the Buddhistic Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago*, by I-tsing.
URC	*Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti.
Viṣṇudharmottara	*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa.*
VSB	*Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara.
Watters	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by T. Watters.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Contents

Preface 7

Table of Transliteration 12

Abbreviations 13

CHAPTER I

SOURCES 21-35

Works of Bhavabhūti; commentaries on the works of Bhavabhūti; *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati: its historical value; justification of its title; Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarman: its date; historical importance; other inscriptions; coins of Yaśovarman; commentary of Asahāya on the *Nāradasmṛti*; commentary of Bhāruci on the *Manusmṛti*; memoirs of Hui-ch'ao; works of Haribhadra; other sources; later works: *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa; Jaina works

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA ON THE EVE OF YAŚOVARMAN'S RISE 36-60

Introductory; Kānyakubja; Magadha; Vaṅga; Gauḍa; Gurjara-Pratihāras of Mandor; Mauryas and Guhilas; Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī; Cāḷukyas of Nausārī; Maitrakas of Valabhī; Sind; Kashmir; Kabul and Zabul; an appraisal

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER III

YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ 61-114

I. Lineage, Early Life and Reign Period

II. Conquests

Vākpati's account of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya*; identifications of the territories mentioned in the *digvijaya*; evaluation of the *digvijaya-praśasti*; conquest of Magadha; identification of the king of Magadha; date of the battle; victory over Vaṅga; rout of the kingdom of Gauḍa; Yaśovarman's march through Maru-*deśa*; his fight with the Pārasīkas; did Yaśovarman conquer Deccan and south India; extent of Yaśovarman's dominions

III. Yaśovarman's Battle with Lalitāditya and its Date

Causes of the clash; account of the battle; assessment of the account; conclusion; date of the battle: Jacobi's view and its criticism; assessment of the evidence of verse nos. 829 and 832; conclusion

IV. Some Aspects of Yaśovarman's Personality

Yaśovarman as an author; as a patron of letters; literary luminaries of his court: Bhavabhūti, Vākpati, Atrigupta; Yaśovarman as a statesman; as a builder; Yaśovarman's pastimes and amusements; his religious leanings

CHAPTER IV

SUCCESSORS OF YAŚOVARMAN 115-128

Account of the Jaina works regarding Āma; assessment of the account; Āma's accession to the throne of Kanauj; his conquests; his rule over Kanauj and Gwalior; evidence of *Skanda Purāṇa* regarding Āma; Āma's identification with Nāgabhaṭa II; criticism of this contention; other views and their evaluation; Dunduka and Bhoja

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER V

KINGSHIP, ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM 129-162

Introductory; kingship: education of the king, coronation ceremony, virtues and vices of the king, his responsibilities and functions, divinity, titles; administrative organisation: central administration, provincial and district administration, city administration, village administration, espionage; military organisation: infantry, chariots, cavalry, elephants, navy, military officials, arms, weapons and armour; judicial system: king and his court of justice, procedure of the court, plaint and its reply, evidence, judgment; evidence of the *Samarāiccakahā* regarding crime and punishment; retrospect

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL LIFE 163-209

Introductory; caste system: Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and low castes; *Āśramas*: *Brahmacarya*, *Gṛhastha*, *Vānaprastha* and *Sanyāsa*; *Saṁskāras*: their number and names, marriage, its various forms, marriageable age, important considerations in marriage, monogamy, polygamy, polyandry; position of women: their education, women in family and social life, in warfare and politics, relative position of husband and wife, observance of *purdā*, position of widows, custom of *satī*; food and drinks; dress; ornaments and jewellery; toilet and coiffure; education: student life, teachers, subjects of study, educational institutions and centres of advanced learning

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE 210-229

Introductory; Vaiṣṇavism; Śaivism; Kāpālika sect; Śakti cult; the sun god; Gaṇeśa; Brahmā; minor deities; Vedic religion and rituals; socio-religious rites and festivals; Buddhism; Jainism

Bibliography 231

Index 243

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

1

Sources

The Works of Bhavabhūti

A court poet of Yaśovarman[1] and a senior contemporary of Vākpati,[2] Bhavabhūti wrote three plays viz. the *Mahāvīracarita*, the *Uttararāmacarita* and the *Mālatīmādhava*. The former two are based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme, but the poet has considerably rehashed the old story by introducing several alterations and additions to meet the requirements of his age and stage. These changes in and deviations from the old theme have been carefully noticed, because they are particularly useful for the study of cultural life of the poet's period. The theme of the *Mālatīmādhava* is drawn from real life and, therefore, it is steeped in the contemporary concepts and customs. Taking as a whole, Bhavabhūti's works provide ample information on several aspects of polity, social and religious life. His account of co-education and declining state of Buddhism leading to its fusion into the Brahmanical religion is of special importance.

Commentaries on the Works of Bhavabhūti

We have also made full use of the valuable commentaries of Vīrarāghava,[3] Jagaddhara, Tripurāri, Nānyadeva[4] and

1. Kalhaṇa records that Yaśovarmā was served by Vākpati, Bhavabhūti and others: *Kavir-Vākpatirājaśrī-Bhavabhūtyādisevitaḥ . . . Yaśovarmā* (*RT*, IV, 144).
2. *GV*, 799.
3. Vīrarāghava commented on the *Mahāvīracarita* and the *Uttararāmacarita*.
4. Jagaddhara, Tripurāri and Nānyadeva commented on the *Mālatīmādhava*. Jagaddhara has been placed between 1300 and 1400 A.D. by

5301

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ghanaśyāma,[1] on the plays of Bhavabhūti. The *bhāṣyas* of Harihara Mishra, Dharānanda[2] and others hardly supply any new information and, therefore, they have been ignored.

The Gauḍavaho of Vākpati: Its Historical Value

The *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati, the poet-laureate of Yaśovarman's court,[3] professes to deal with the killing of the Gauḍa king by Yaśovarman, but actually narrates the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman. It opens with salutations to a large number of the Brahmanical deities.[4] This is followed by Vākpati's observations on the merits and demerits of the past poets and their compositions, as well as on the importance of Prakrit language.[5] Then begins the account of Yaśovarman's greatness, attractions[6] and *digvijaya*.[7] Vākpati also furnishes a few details about his own life, learning and status, referring to the writers to whom he owed inspiration.[8] In addition to these main topics, we also get

P.K. Gode (Date of Jagaddhara, the commentator of the *Mālatīmādhava*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Part II), and by R.G. Bhandarkar between 15th and 16th century (*ABORI*, Vol. XXII, p. 39). Tripurāri was a southerner. His commentary is available only for the first seven acts of the *Mālatīmādhava*. Nānyadeva commented on its last three acts.

1. Ghanaśyāma was an 18th century commentator on the *Uttararāmacarita*.
2. Harihara Mishra wrote his *bhāṣya* in the year 336 of the Nepal Śaka era corresponding to 1216 A.D. Jagaddhara has extensively borrowed almost on every page, from Harihara. Thus there is little difference between the two commentaries and we know about the *bhāṣya* of the latter through that of the former. For details see N.A. Gore, 'Jagaddhara's indebtedness to Harihara', *ABORI*, Vol. XXII, p. 39.

   Dharānanda's commentary can hardly be called an independent *bhāṣya*, for its bulk supplies only Sanskrit *chāyā* and explanatory material is rarely met with. It is a drastic abridgment of Jagaddhara's commentary. Dharānanda flourished in the first quarter of the 19th century (N.A. Gore, '*Mālatīmādhava-Laghuvivaraṇa by Pt. Dharānanda*, *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 162-170).
3. *GV*, 69.
4. *Ibid.*, vv. 1-16.
5. *Ibid.*, 62-98.
6. *Ibid.*, 99-191.
7. *Ibid.*, 192-694.
8. *Ibid.*, vv. 797-804.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in it a graphic description of the rites and rituals connected with Śakti cult, and stray references to a few aspects of social life.

Vākpati's account is not free from the flatteries of a courtier and the limitations which are usually found in the poetical works dealing with historical theme. He shares with Bāṇa and other fellow writers such discrepancies as the vagueness in the description of political events and total negligence of chronology. He very often jumbles up historical facts with myths and legends. Despite these demerits, the *Gauḍavaho* is an important source for the history and cultural life of Yaśovarman's time, because it is a contemporary account based on the first-hand knowledge of the poet. And we can eke out historical information from its account giving due allowance to the above mentioned limitations.

The *Gauḍavaho* may be compared in certain respects with other historical works like the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (7th century), the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa (11th century), and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka (12th century). Unlike *Harṣacarita* which refers to the rulers from the dynast Puṣpabhūti[1] onwards, the *Gauḍavaho* confines its narration to the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman. Bāṇa's description ends only in the beginning of Harṣa's departure for conquests.[2] It is probably because of this that A.B. Keith[3] and R.C. Majumdar[4] regard *Gauḍavaho* to be more historical in character than the *Harṣacarita*. Keith adds, that the *Gauḍavaho* . . . "expatiates in . . . descriptions of scenary and seasons, and of the amusements of kings, and does not scruple to relate the myths."[5] Therefore it has "no claim to

1. *HC*, III, pp. 169 ff.
2. Harṣa is stated to have resolved to wipe out the Gauḍas from the earth. He then issued a proclamation to the effect that the rulers in all quarters should either submit or be prepared for fighting. He then started on conquests with a powerful army. We are further told that he accepted the presents sent by the king of Kāmarūpa. Thereafter he (Harṣa) proceeded to the Vindhyan forest in search of his sister Rājyaśrī, and was able to trace her. Here ends Bāṇa's account (*HC*, chapters VI-VIII).
3. *HSL*, p. 150.
4. *HIPC*, p. 18.
5. *HSL*, p. 150.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

be ranked even as embryo history."[1] But such descriptions though acting as a refrain from the main theme, often supply valuable data on several aspects of social and religious life of the age under review; and are hence very important.

Justification of the Title Gauḍavaho

The title *Gauḍavaho* means the slaying of the king of Gauḍa (by Yaśovarman). But this event is, however, mentioned vaguely only in one verse of the extant poem.[2] Even the name of the Gauḍa ruler or that of his dynasty, cause or causes leading to his clash with the Kanauj king, are not referred to in it. Such a casual treatment given to this fateful event omitting all important details makes the title of Vākpati's poem rather a misnomer and, therefore, it has caused controversy.

In view of the present state of the *Gauḍavaho* and certain strong indications of its being incomplete,[3] G.

1. *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 52.
2. *Tuha dhārā-saṅdāṇiya-gayinda-muttā-halo asī jayayi*
   Gauḍa-galacche-a-valagga-saṅṭhiye-āvali-ovva (*GV*, 1194).
3. Couplet Nos. 844, 1073-74, 1184, and 1206-8 clearly show that the subsequent part of the poem narrating in detail the killing of the Magadha or Gauḍa king was to be composed. Even in the last verse, the poet prepares the audience to listen to the life-history of Yaśovarman. The text of the relevant portions of these verses and their translations, mainly based on S.P. Pandit's edition, are given below:
   Iya . . . imiṇā jaha ṇiṭṭhavi-o-purā Magaha-ṇāho
   Taha sīsantaṁ . . . ṇīsesamicchanti (*Ibid.*, 844)
   i.e., 'People were desirous of hearing from Vākpati, a complete narrative of the manner in which he (Yaśovarman) had killed the lord of the Magadhas formerly.'
   Tahavi ṇisāmeha ṇarāhivassa bhuya-dappadappaṇaṁ eyaṁ purumilla-ṇarinda-ṇiṭṭhavaṇaṁ (*Ibid.*, 1073)
   i.e., 'Hear this poem, the mirror of the valour of Yaśovarman's arm which was distinguished by the slaying of the eastern king.'
   Sāhijjayi-Gauḍavaho maye sampayaṁ mahārambho
   Ṇisuye muyanti dappaṁ jammi ṇarindā kayindā ca (*Ibid.*, 1074)
   i.e., 'I now compose the *Gauḍavaho* marking a great beginning, hearing which poets as well as kings shall give up their pride.'
   . . . . rayaṇi-virama-kāyavva-ṇivvu-o-tāṇa
   So sāhi-uṁ payatto-cari-aṁ Cāṇakka-cari-assa (*Ibid.*, 1184)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bühler,[1] S.P. Pandit,[2] J. Hertel[3] and M. Winternitz[4] take it to be a prelude to a much larger poem. H. Jacobi,[4] A.B. Keith,[5] S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De[6] consider the present *Gauḍavaho* as an unfinished composition. Keith adds that it may also be regarded as a "series of excerpts dealing with those topics which the Pandits liked most, omitting tedious historical details."[8] According to Jacobi, the extant form of the *Gauḍavaho* is all that Vākpati ever wrote and that he had no intention to write more.[9] J. Hertel[10] and N.B. Utgikar[11] subscribe to this surmise. All these views have been assessed by us elsewhere,[12] and the conclusions drawn therein may be briefly mentioned here:

The present *Gauḍavaho* should neither be regarded as a prelude to nor an abstract of some monumental work. Nor can it be considered as a complete poem. It represents the major part of the work which the poet intended to write, and only a detailed narration of the killing of the Gauḍa king was to be added to its present form to bring it to a close. For, almost all

i.e., 'The poet after performing the duties of the morning, began to relate the history of him whose exploits were like those of Cāṇakya.'

. . . . . *sāhire tammi*
Jāo khaṇeṇa mūyalli-ovva ko-ūhalā lo-o (*Ibid.*, 1206)
i.e., 'When the poet was going to commence (the narration of the killing of the Gauḍa king), the people became as if they were dumb through curiosity.'
Tassa imaṁ pāvaṇamahiṇavaṁ ca-cittaṁ ca vimhayakaraṁ
Sīsayi cariamacaramaṁ ṇarāhivayiṇo ṇisāmeha (*Ibid.*, 1209)
i e., 'Hear the life-history (of Yaśovarman) which is pious, and wonderful.'

1. *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 328-340.
2. *GV*, Introduction, pp. VII, XXXIX-XLIX.
3. 'A Note on Bhavabhūti and on Vākpatirāja', *Asia Major*, Vol. I, pp. 1-23.
4. *Geschichte d'indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III, p. 84.
5. *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, pp. 61-75.
6. *HSL*, p. 150; *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 52.
7. *HSL*, Vol. I, p. 279.
8. *HSL*, p. 150.
9. *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, pp. 61 ff.
10. *Asia Major*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.
11. *GV*, Introduction, supplementary notes, pp. CCXXXI-CCLV.
12. S.M. Mishra, 'A note on the title of Vākpati's poem *Gauḍavaho* and the identification of the king of Gauḍa', to be published in *Dr. Rajbali Pandey Commemoration Volume* of the *Bhāratī*.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the features of a *kāvya* are included in it in their complete form.[1]

The reason for the selection of the *Gauḍavaho* as the title of the poem is given in the Jaina works *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, *Prabhāvakacarita* and *Prabandhakośa*. They tell us that Yaśovarman invaded and killed king Dharma of Gauḍa and imprisoned his court poet Vākpati. During his confinement, Vākpati wrote the *Gauḍavaho*, perhaps its present form or at least its major part. He showed it to Yaśovarman probably with the promise to give a singular treatment to his victory over Dharma in the subsequent part of his poem, and got himself released.[2] Thus Vākpati seems to have selected this title to flatter Yaśovarman, and he probably deliberately avoided to describe the doom of his erstwhile patron in detail.[3] However, after his release, Vākpati became the friend of the Kanauj king and was raised to the rank of a poet-laureate at his court.[4] In that capacity, he possibly really wished to gratify his new patron by writing at length the account of his old patron's death.[5] But Yaśovarman

1. The invocation to deities (*GV*, vv. 1-61), reflections cast on past poets and their compositions (*Ibid.*, vv. 62-98), the account of the glory and greatness of Yaśovarman (*Ibid.*, vv. 99-191), his conquests (*Ibid.*, vv. 192-737), and pastimes (*Ibid.*, vv.738-796), the descriptions of seasons and nature, besides several other topics which form part of a *kāvya*, are included in the extant *Gauḍavaho*.
2. *Bappabhaṭṭicarita in JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 321; *PC*, XI, vv. 463-64, *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 30, 37.
3. The feeling of gratefulness towards his former patron might have naturally persisted in Vākpati's mind. Hence he may have avoided the unpleasant narration of the Gauḍa king's death.
4. *Aha tassa thira-bhuya-kkhambha-ṇimiya ṅisesa-bhuyaṇa bhārassa Āsi-kayi-rāya-iṅdho Vappayi-rā-otti paṇayi-lavo* (*GV*, 797).
5. In verse 69 of the *Gauḍavaho* he says that the poetic excellences which found expression in the *Mahumahaviyaya*, the first composition of Vākpati, are absent in the *Gauḍavaho*. Then in couplet 1121 he observes that the glories of great persons inspire competent writers to hear and narrate them; but they (glories) make the incompetent authors dull. The commentator Haripāla adds that inability to accomplish a thing causes sluggishness, and that Vākpati finding himself incapable of completing his work in a manner it ought to have been done, showed diffidence. It may also be recollected that the poet prepares himself time and again to compose the subsequent portion of his poem, but never is he found confident of success (*Ibid.*, vv. 844, 1073-74, 1184, 1206).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

himself appears to have been vanquished by Lalitāditya before Vākpati could compose the subsequent part of his poem. At the instance of this discomfiture, his previous victories had lost their significance; and this may account for a definite decline in Vākpati's zeal for completing his composition. Thus the reverses of Yaśovarman's political career were probably mainly responsible for the non-completion of the *Gauḍavaho* whose title had already been chosen keeping in view its complete form as contemplated by the poet.

The Nālandā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśovarmadeva: Its Date

This is so far the only epigraph of Yaśovarman's reign. Both J.A. Page and Hirananda Sastri,[1] the discoverer and editor of this inscription respectively, originally took it to be of the time of the Kanauj king. But Sastri later on revised his view and attributed it to Yaśodharman of Malwa.[2] A.K. Mrithyunjayan supported him.[3] R.C. Majumdar ascribes the inscription to the reign of Yaśovarman. According to him, the palaeography of this record and the name Yaśovarman decisively decide its date.[4] This view is now generally accepted.[5] The present writer has discussed elsewhere[6] all important aspects of this epigraph, and here the following points may be put forth against the contention of Sastri and in favour of that of Majumdar:

(i) Besides the name which is undoubtedly Yaśovarma, the script of the Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśodharman is definitely earlier than that of the Nālandā record.

1. *ASIAR*, 1925-26, pp. 131, 158-159.
2. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 28, 40-41.
3. *IHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 227-230, 615-617.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 664; *ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 371.
5. Pires, *Maukharis*, pp. 144-145; *HK*, pp. 205-207; *PHAI*, p. 588, note 5; *IC*, Vol. XV, pp. 205, 211; *DKM*, pp. 110-112; *AIHC*, pp. 103-104; D.B. Pandey, *Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, p. 56.
6. Our article entitled '*The Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva—a fresh appraisal*' is to be published in the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(ii) Yaśodharman bears the title *Janendra* and *rājādhirāja-parameśvara*[1] in the Mandasor records, whereas Yaśovarman has been referred to as *rājā* both in the Nālandā inscription[2] and in the *Gauḍavaho*.[3]

(iii) The Mandasor inscriptions represent Yaśodharman as a staunch Śaiva,[4] but the Nālandā epigraph opens with an invocation to the Buddha,[5] giving no indication of Yaśovarman's leanings towards Lord Śiva.[6]

(iv) If this inscription is attributed to Yaśodharman, it would necessarily prove his suzerainty over Nālandā. But in the present stage of our knowledge, its inclusion in his dominions cannot definitely be established.[7]

These evidences strengthen the view that the Nālandā inscription belongs to the reign of Yaśovarman and not to that of Yaśodharman.[8]

Historical Value of the Nālandā Inscription

This inscription seems to have been engraved after the completion of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya* and before his defeat by

1. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 413, vv. 4, 6.
2. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 2.
3. *GV*, 99.
4. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 411 ff.
5. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 1.
6. For details see S.M. Mishra, 'A note on the religious leanings of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj', *K.A S. Iyer Felicitation Volume*, pp. 63-67.
7. That Nālandā remained under the subjection of Narasimhagupta's successors Kumāragupta III, Vainyagupta and Viṣṇugupta, is evidenced by the discovery of their seals from Nālandā (see *MASI*, No. 66, pp. 66-67, for the seals of the former two, and *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 235 ff, for the seal of Viṣṇugupta).
8. Yaśovarman definitely held his sway over Magadha including of course Nālandā (see *GV*, vv. 414-417, 696-697; *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 135-136; *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 210). It may also be mentioned here that Haribhadra refers to king Yaśovarman of Śetavya, in the present tense (*atthi Bhārahevāhe-Seyaviyā ṇāma ṇayarī, tattha Jasavammo rājā, Samarā*, Jacobi, V, p. 302). But more details are needed to establish his historicity.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Lalitāditya of Kashmir.[1] Unlike other *praśastis*,[2] the historical information furnished by this epigraph is very scanty. It eulogises Yaśovarman's greatness in general terms[3] without mentioning even the name of his family, kingdom or capital. Nor does it refer to any notable event of his reign.

In spite of these omissions, the Nālandā inscription is a very important document. It throws light on the extent of Yaśovarman's dominions in the east[4] and north-west.[5] It also bears out that the Kanauj king[6] like Lalitāditya[7] had appointed Turki Shāhis on important administrative posts, and that Nālandā continued to be a stronghold of Buddhism and a celebrated centre of learning.[8]

Other Inscriptions

A fragmentary inscription from Mathura assigned to the 7th-8th century on palaeographic grounds, is also important for the history of Yaśovarman. It opens with an invocation to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then we are introduced to three Maurya rulers *viz.* Candragupta, Āryarāja and Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja. Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja is mentioned to have led a successful expedition against Kanauj.[9]

1. The Nālandā inscription presents Yaśovarman as a victorious hero and destroyer of his foes, outshining all in every quarter (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 2).
2. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 213-222), the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta (*Ibid.*, pp. 262-268), the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of the time of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (*Ibid.*, pp. 474-479), the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakeśin II (*EI*, VI, pp. 1-12) and several other *praśastis* generally record in detail the genealogies, conquests and other achievements of the rulers concerned. But such details are not found in the Nālandā inscription.
3. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45.
4. This record proves the inclusion of Nālandā in Yaśovarman's dominions.
5. It tells us that Tikina was incharge of the north-western border (*udīcīpati*) of Yaśovarman's kingdom (*Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 3).
6. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 41.
7. *RT*, IV, vv. 142-143.
8. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
9. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207-212.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This epigraph not only testifies to the rule of the Later Mauryas in the Mathura region, but also refers to the capture of Kanauj by them not long before the rise of Yaśovarman. Besides, it lends some support to the statement of the Jaina writers who call Yaśovarman a scion of the family of Candragupta Maurya. The information of other contemporary epigraphs is confined to a few aspects of polity, religion, and social life.

Coins of Yaśovarman

Some coins of the little Kuṣāṇa or Indo-Scythian type bearing the name Yaśovarman[1] and resembling the issues of Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II (c. 700 A.D.), but less degraded than the coins of Jayāpīḍa (779 A.D.), were found in Kashmir and west Punjab.[2] Hoernle ascribes these coins to Yaśodharman of Malwa.[3] Smith first took them to be the issues of an unrecorded Rājā of Punjab or Kashmir who might have struck them in the 6th or 7th century.[4] But later on he suggested the possibility of their attribution to Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[5] Cunningham[6] also ascribes the coins to the Kanauj king.

As the coins appear to belong to a date later than that of the Malwa monarch and bear the name Yaśovarman, they should not be regarded as the issues of Yaśodharman. The date

1. Obverse: "Scarcely recognisable copy of the Kushān standing king; *Ki* below left arm". Reverse: "Headless seated goddess, even more barbarous than on the Pratāpa coins. Brāhmī legend on the right *Śrī Yaśov(armā)*" (V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 268). Also see A. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 44, note 20.
2. Fifty-seven of these coins were found in 1885 in Sialkot District of Punjab (*PASB*, 1888, p. 180). Another coin was discovered in the Mānikyāla *stūpa* (Princep, *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, Pl. VI, No. 9 and Pl. XXXI, No. 3). Also see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 549
3. He argues that these coins belong to Kashmir series and none of them has been found in Kanauj. There is no evidence to show, he adds, that Yaśovarman ever penetrated upto Kashmir or Punjab (*JRAS*, 1903, pp. 549-552; *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 105-108; *JASB*, Numismatic Supplement, Vol. XLI, 1928, pp. 7-8).
4. *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 266.
5. *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 784-785.
6. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 44; *ASIR*, Vol. II, 1871, pp. 159-160.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

assigned to them by Cunningham when considered in the light of the cumulative evidence[1] of the *Gauḍavaho* and the Nālandā inscription, tempts us to attribute the coins to Yaśovarman. But Cunningham's contention is also not free from objections. First, the date of these issues can be determined only tentatively. Secondly, they belong to the series of the coins of the Kārkoṭa kings of Kashmir. Thirdly, their find-spots in all probability lay outside the dominions of Yaśovarman. Thus the attribution of these coins would remain controversial unless some more definite clue comes to light.

Commentary of Asahāya on the Nāradasmṛti

One of the earliest commentators and "a standard writer in the province of Hindu Law",[3] Asahāya wrote his *bhāṣya* on the *Nāradasmṛti* between c. 700 and 750 A.D.[4] He has often elucidated his remarks with imaginary examples which besides providing ample information on the judicial system of the period, also acquaint us with certain aspects of social life. The proper use of the valuable data contained in this commentary has been made here probably for the first time.

Commentary of Bhāruci on the Manusmṛti

Bhāruci was definitely earlier than Medhātithi, for the latter has frequently quoted his comments. J.D.M. Derrett places Bhāruci in c. 700 A.D.[5] His commentary has survived only for the books VI-XII of the *Manusmṛti*.[6]

1. *GV*, 511; *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 41, 45. For details see chapter III, part III.
2. This commentary is published in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I.
3. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XIX.
4. Kane, *HDS*, Vol. I, p. 680.
5. The text with translation, introduction and notes etc., edited by J.D.M. Derrett, Professor of Oriental Laws, in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, is to be published by the centre—du sud-est asiatique, University of Brussels. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Derrett for having sent me the re-prints of his scholarly articles on Bhāruci recently published in some leading foreign journals.
6. *ZDMG*, 1965, pp. 139-140.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Apart from being a Vedāntin,[1] Bhāruci was an eminent jurist. He owed a good deal of his material to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. This little known fragmentary commentary adds interesting information on a few aspects of polity, administration and social life.

Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao

A Korean Buddhist itinerant as he was, Hui-ch'ao visited Kānyakubja, Kashmir, Sind, Varaṇasi, Magadha, Kuśīnagara, Suvarṇagotra and a few other states in the third decade of the 8th century. His statements on Yaśovarman's dates, conquests, extent of empire and probable causes of his confrontations with the kings of Magadha and Kashmir are of singular importance. Hui-ch'ao also supplies valuable data regarding the state of Buddhism in the different parts of northern India.[2]

The Works of Haribhadra

Among the numerous works of Haribhadra, the *Samarāiccakahā* is most important for the study of the cultural life of the first half of the 8th century.[3] It furnishes very interesting data regarding social life, religious practices, administration and judicial system, through popular stories. His another notable work entitled *Dhūrtākhyāna*, is a story of five rogues. It aims at the condemnation of the Brahmanical religion and gives evidence of sectarian rivalry.

Other Sources

Besides these, the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha (c. 700 A.D.),[4] the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa (c. 8th century),[5] the *Kuvalaya-*

1. T.R. Chintamani in *PAIOC*, 12th session, Vol. II, p. 352.
2. Hui-ch'ao's information has been generally taken from the learned articles of Dr. Jan Yun-hua.
3. See also *Samarāiccakahā* (Jacobi), Introduction, p. III.
4. *HSL*, p. 124.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mālā of Udyotana Sūri (c. 779 A.D.),[1] the *Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (c. 783 A.D.)[2] and the chapters of the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* roughly covering the age under review, have also been utilised generally to corroborate and elaborate the account of the contemporary sources.

The evidence of sculptures housed in the museums of Lucknow, Kālpī, Mathura, Bharatpur, Jaipur and Amber, as well as that of the sculptures on the temples of the Hari-Hara group at Osia, which roughly belong to our period, has been used mainly to corroborate and substantiate the information of the literary records regarding a few aspects of social and religious life.

Later Works: The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* records Lalitāditya's battle with Yaśovarman, and in this context furnishes certain important details about the Kanauj king. R.C. Majumdar takes Kalhaṇa's account to be "more authentic than contemporary panegyrics of the court-poets."[3] According to U.N. Ghoshal, he occupies a pre-eminent position by virtue of his "understanding of military operations, his exact chronology, his impartial judgement and his approach towards the standards of historical criticism." Kalhaṇa's narration, he adds, "gains . . . in historical accuracy and completeness from the beginning of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards."[4]

But Kalhaṇa's account also suffers from several glaring discrepancies. These include, among others, his "failure to distinguish history from legend and belief in the operation of supernatural forces on human affairs."[5] Therefore, "manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious belief . . . mixed up with historical reminiscences . . . are reproduced without a mark of doubt or critical misgiving."[6] Besides, Kalhaṇa's historical horizon was "limited by the petty hill-states immedia-

1. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 282-283.
2. *Jain HVP*, Part II, 66, 52.
3. 'Interpretation of *digvijaya-praśastis*', *JIH*, Vol. XLII, Part III, p. 653.
4. *St.IHC*, p. 242. Also see H.C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 112.
5. A.L. Basham in *HIPC*, pp. 60, 64.
6. M.A. Stein, *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 28.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tely adjoining the Kashmir Valley. From them he probably took the comparative standard by which he measured the resources and political importance of Kashmir."[1] He "had no access to any text dealing with the history of Northern India before his time."[2] Kalhaṇa wrote in verse and as a poet, and, therefore, was liable to the defects which are usually found in the historical works written in poetry.[3] His source-material was sometimes incomplete and faulty. These merits and demerits of Kalhaṇa's narrative have been carefully taken into account while utilising his information.

Jaina Works

Among the Jaina works, the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita* of Mānikya Sūri, the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara, and the *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra Sūri are most important. They supply several new details which are not known from any other source. For example only Jaina works tell us the name of Yaśovarman's family, and also of the ruler of Gauḍa killed by him. They also refer to the date of the death of Yaśovarman; and our knowledge regarding his successors is confined to these works only. In addition to this, the Jaina writers also provide certain new information about the life and compositions of Vākpati.

Other Jaina works namely the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* and the *Tāpagaccapaṭṭāvalī* are of very little value in this context. But we should, however, be on our guard while utilising the information of these records, on account of the following facts: They were written several centuries after the time of Yaśovarman and their accounts were "affected by additions and modifications of various kinds from generation to generation."[4] The main aim of the Jaina writers was to glorify their religion, and they have often jumbled up historical facts and chronology with myths and legends. S.P. Pandit places "little or no reliance on the

1. Stein, *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 31.
2. *HIPC*, p. 26.
3. *GV*, Introduction, p. CXCI.
4. *GV*, Introduction, p. CLV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Jain stories."[1] G. Bühler also observes, "I would not . . . pin my faith on any *paṭṭāvalī* or *Prabandha*, whose assertions, like those of the *Purāṇas*, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions and *MSS*."[2] A.K. Majumdar supports Bühler.[3]

Notwithstanding these demerits, the valuable data contained in the Jaina works is indispensable for the history of early medieval India[4] in general and for that of Yaśovarman in particular. And their information should be relied upon if it fits in well in the history of the period, receives corroboration from other sources and is not contradicted by authentic evidence.

1. *GV*, p. CLVIII.
2. *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 185.
3. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 200.
4. G.C. Choudhury, *PHNI*, p. 4. Also see Jyoti Prasad Jain, *Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India*, p. 18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

2

Political Condition of Northern India on the Eve of Yaśovarman's Rise

Harṣa's death was followed by the political disintegration of northern India. "The outlying provinces fell off one by one, and Kanauj itself became the scene of a violent upheaval."[1] Mādhavagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty declared his independence in Magadha,[2] and chaotic conditions prevailed in Bengal. Central and western India, too, lacked political integration and stability. The kingdom of Kashmir was, however, increasing its power under the Kārkoṭa kings. Thus in the period that intervened between the death of Harṣa and emergence of Yaśovarman, northern India witnessed the rise of several small states. A brief survey of these parochial powers is necessary to understand the political background in which Yaśovarman arose and built a strong kingdom.

Kānyakubja

Harṣa seems to have left no heir and his throne is stated to have been usurped by his minister named Arjuna or Aruṇāśva. The miraculous details of his encounter with the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse and its ill consequences need not be described here.[3] The subsequent history of Kanauj is shrouded in obscu-

1. *HK*, p. 188.
2. *DKM*, p. 284.
3. For its account see *EHI*, pp. 366-367; *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 334-335; *CA*, pp. 124-125.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

rity. According to V.A. Smith, Harṣa's death was followed by the conditions of anarchy.[1] After him, the earliest known king of Kanauj was Yaśovarman.[2] R.C. Majumdar[3] and R.S. Tripathi[4] also hold a similar view.

R.G. Basak is of the opinion that Bhogavarman's father Sūrasena may have occupied Kanauj after the death of Harṣa[5] (and the exit of Arjuna). But according to B.P. Sinha, Bhogavarman himself might have left Nepal and come to Kanauj when Nepal became subject to Tibetan imperialism and northern India fell into confusion soon after the death of Harṣa.[6] B.N. Srivastava suggests that Suca(ndravarman) captured Kanauj in the latter part of 648 A.D., after Arjuna's removal to China,[7] and that he ruled upto c. 664 A.D.[8] He was succeeded by Bhogavarman.[9] Buddha Prakash places three Maukhari rulers namely Sucandravarman, Bhogavarman and Manorathavarman on the throne of Kanauj in the period.[10]

Among these Suva or Suca (Sucandravarman), the son of Avantivarman, might have ruled before or after his brother Grahavarman, and not after Harṣa or Arjuna. As regards Bhogavarman, he is mentioned in a Nepalese inscription as the crest-jewel of the Maukhari race. But his relationship with the Maukharis of Kanauj or hold over Kanauj is not attested by any source. As for Manorathavarman, he is known from an undated inscription found in the Iliya village of the Chakiya Tehsil of Varaṇasi District. This epigraph refers to the victorious reign of king Manorathavarman[11] whose Maukhari lineage has been inferred only from his name-ending *varman*. But this inscription is not dated, and D.C. Sircar rightly observes that "it is . . . difficult to say whether the king (Manorathavarman)

1. *EHI*, pp. 370-371.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
3. *CA*, p. 128.
4. *HK*, p. 192.
5. *HNEI*, p. 372.
6. *DKM*, p. 303.
7. *Maukharis of Kanauj*, p. 21.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
10. *AIHC*, pp. 102-103.
11. *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 284, note 6.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ruled over the Varaṇasi region before the death of Harṣavardhana . . . or after that date and before the expansion of the power of king Yaśovarman (c. 728-753 A.D.) of Kanauj over the area in question."[1] Besides his uncertain date and lineage, Manorathavarman's authority over Kanauj is not indicated in any record. Thus in the present state of our knowledge, it would be a far-fetched conjecture to regard Bhogavarman and Manorathavarman as the descendants of the Maukharis of Kanauj, and to place them on its throne before the advent of Yaśovarman.

According to B.P. Sinha, the Later Gupta ruler Ādityasena established "an all Northern India empire" which was kept intact by his son Devagupta.[2] Does it show that these monarchs held their sway over Kanauj as well? On the basis of a Mathura inscription written in the characters of the 7th-8th century, D.C. Sircar suggests that a Maurya ruler "Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja led an expedition against Kanauj sometime about the close of the seventh century when the confusion around Kanauj was still continuing."[3] According to the *Caca-Nāmā*, a king named Siharasa, the son of Rasal, was ruling in Kanauj during the reign of Candara, the king of Sind. This Siharasa is stated to have sent an army against Candara and that the latter made preparations for an encounter.[4] According to Cunningham, "Siharas is probably the same as Bhīmasena mentioned by the Chinese as Ti-mo-si-no, King of Central India, in A.D. 692." But this identification is very much doubtful.[5]

Cunningham places Ranmul on the throne of Kanauj in c. 700 A.D.,[6] but very little is known about him. On the basis of Daulatpur grant of Bhojadeva I dated in the year 100 of an unspecified era, Kielhorn contends that Bhojadeva ruled over Mahodaya *i.e.* Kanauj in c. 706 A.D., adding that the year 100 must be referred to the Harṣa era.[7] But Bhandarkar pointed out that the figure should be read as 900.[8] However, in view of

1. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 247.
2. *DKM*, pp. 301, 305.
3. *GK*, p. 52.
4. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 55.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 55, note 42.
6. *JASB*, Vol. X, part I, p. 188; *HK*, p. 192, note 1.
7. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 210.
8. *HMHI*, Vol. II, p. 112.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the names of the successive rulers referred to in this inscription, Bhandarkar's identification of Bhojadeva with Mihira Bhoja appears convincing.

From the *Caca-Nāmā* we learn that Rai Haracandara, the son of Jahtal, was the king of Kanauj in the time of Muhammad-ibn-Kāsim. The latter is stated to have exerted pressure on him to acknowledge his suzerainty and embrace Islam. But Haracandara replied, "This country (of Kanauj) for about one thousand and six hundred years has been under our rule . . . During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary . . . Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight . . . in order that our strength and might may be tried."[1] The Muslims also urged Kāsim to declare war. But he (Kāsim) himself was slain before any conflict could take place.[2]

It is very difficult to extract historical facts from this account of the *Caca-Nāmā*. The inordinately long period of sixteen hundred years assigned to the rule of Haracandara's family, makes the information incredible. Unfortunately, this Haracandara is not known from any other source and in the present state of our knowledge, he may only provisionally be regarded as a patriot and powerful potentate of Kanauj in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

Thus in the above-mentioned rulers, Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja, Siharasa and Haracandara have been associated with the kingdom of Kanauj in the period under review. But their dates and extent of power cannot definitely be determined on the basis of the tenuous testimony at our disposal. However, the rise of Yaśovarman cleared the cloud of confusion and Kanauj again came to its own.

Magadha

In the period of political convulsions that followed the death of Harṣa, Mādhavagupta of the Later Gupta family seems to have become an independent monarch of Magadha.[3] But the

1. *HS*, Vol. I, pp. 110-112.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55, note 42.
3. *DKM*, p. 281.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

real founder of the Magadha empire was *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*[1] Ādityasena whose empire may have embraced the major part of Bihar[2] and considerable parts of Bengal[3] and modern Uttar Pradesh.[4] But it is difficult to regard him as the conqueror of the Cola country in the interior south.[5] The only known date of Ādityasena is 672-73 A.D.;[6] and the end of his rule may be placed in the last quarter of the 7th century.

Ādityasena was succeeded by his son Devagupta who also bore imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*,[7] but no achievements have been attributed to him. He has been probably rightly identified with the emperor of entire northern India[8] (*sakalottarāpathanātha*) whom Cāḷukya rulers Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya are stated to have vanquished.[9] But this debacle had hardly any bearing on Devagupta's

1. These titles have been given to him in his Mandāra Hill rock inscriptions (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 212). The Aphsaḍ stone inscription calls him *kṣitiśacūḍāmaṇi* (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 204).
2. The find-spots of his inscriptions definitely prove the inclusion of modern south Bihar in his dominions (see *DKM*, p. 289). And there is nothing improbable in including some other parts of Bihar in his kingdom.
3. According to Basak (*HNEI*, p. 128), southern Rāḍha and Vaṅga formed part of Ādityasena's empire. This has been refuted by Majumdar (*HB*, Vol. I, p. 81, note 7). Sinha holds that at best "Central and South-West Bengal bordering on the sea were included in his kingdom" (*DKM*, p. 301).
4. For details see *DKM*, pp. 294 ff.
5. This information comes from an inscription found on the Vaidyanātha Temple at Deogarh. But this record has been assigned to 16th century or even later (see *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 212-214 and note; *DKM*, pp. 290-293).
6. Shāhpur inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 208-210.
7. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217.
8. *DKM*, p. 301. H.C. Raychaudhuri says that he may be identified with Ādityasena or Devagupta (*PHAI*, pp. 610-611). Jayaswal identifies him with Ādityasena (*IHI*, p. 69). According to C.V. Vaidya (*HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 336-337) and R.C. Majumdar (*CA*, p. 130), the north Indian ruler may have been Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Since this battle took place between 694 and 696 A.D. (see *CA*, p. 130; *DKM*, p. 305), it is not reasonable to identify the *sakalottarāpathanātha* with Ādityasena or with Yaśovarman. For the former most probably flourished earlier than this date and the latter definitely later, as has been discussed, in chapter II I, part I, under 'Reign Period of Yaśovarman'.
9. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 203; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 202; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

imperial position. B.P. Sinha's suggestion that he died fighting the Cāḷukyas[1] is untenable. For the Cāḷukyas do not claim to have killed the paramount ruler of north India. On the contrary, Vijayāditya himself is mentioned to have been made a captive by the retreating enemies.[2] Besides, the non-mention of the name of the defeated ruler also indicates that the success of the Cāḷukyas was only nominal.[3] And Jayaswal's contention that Yaśovarman (of Kanauj) was a feudatory of Devagupta and that he had slain the latter,[4] has been refuted elsewhere.[5]

Devagupta's son and successor was *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara śrī* Viṣṇugupta. The Mangraon inscription proves his sway at least over the south-western limits of modern Shahabad District.[6] Taking as a whole, Devagupta and Viṣṇugupta appear to have maintained to a great extent the integrity of the kingdom bequeathed to them by Ādityasena.

After Viṣṇugupta came *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* Jīvitagupta II, whose Deo-Barṇārk inscription records a grant issued from the victorious camp situated near the fort of Gomatikoṭṭaka. Deo-Barṇārk represents the village Vāruṇikā in the Shahabad District.[7] As regards Gomatikoṭṭaka, Fleet locates it "along the river Gomatī . . . which flows into Ganges about half way between Banaras and Ghazipur."[8] This identification though taken by R.C. Majumdar as uncertain,[9] receives support from the statement of Hui-ch'ao who says that 'all the four holy *stūpas* erected at Kuśīnārā, Sarnath, Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi, were situated within the territory of the kingdom of Magadha.'[10] Since Hui-ch'ao passed through these places about 723-24 A.D., there is no doubt that he referred to the

1. *DKM*, p. 309, note 5.
2. *CA*, p. 246.
3. Also see *Ibid.*, p. 246.
4. *IHI*, p. 70.
5. See chapter III, part I, under 'Early Life of Yaśovarman'.
6. *JBRS*, Vol. XXX, pp. 199 ff, *DKM*, p. 310. Basak has suggested that the king of Magadha defeated by Yaśovarman may have been Viṣṇugupta (*HNEI*, p. 260). But we do not subscribe to this suggestion (see chapter III, part II, under 'Conquest of Magadha').
7. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 214.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 215.
9. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 81, note 6.
10. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 166.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

dominions of Jīvitagupta II. And in his account, Sarnath's inclusion in the kingdom of Magadha is significant. The Deo-Barṇārk inscription informs us that Jīvitagupta II possessed a mighty army and a strong naval force, and had achieved some success.[1] But his rival ruler is not referred to.

The Rogholi plates of the Śaila king Jayavardhana make mention of the conquest of the kingdom of Pauṇḍra *i.e.*, northern Bengal, by the Śailas.[2] R.C. Majumdar places this event about 725 A.D.[3] H.C. Ray adds that the Pauṇḍra potentate was probably Jīvitagupta II or some other successor of Āditya-sena.[4] This identification is not certain, for we neither know the precise date of the conquest of Pauṇḍra, nor the limits of Jīvitagupta's dominions in north Bengal. However, he was the last ruler of the dynasty.

Vaṅga

According to Hiuen Tsang,[5] a Brāhmaṇa family was ruling in Vaṅga *i.e.*, southern and eastern Bengal,[6] in the first half of the 7th century. This family was replaced by the Khaḍga dynasty of which four rulers *viz.* Khaḍgodyama, Devakhaḍga, Jātakhaḍga and Rājarājabhaṭa are known to us. The records of these kings eulogise them in general terms without mentioning any important event of their reigns. Therefore, the extent of their power cannot precisely be determined. According to R.C. Majumdar, their dominions comprised nearly the whole of eastern and southern Bengal.[7] Nor are we certain about the chronology of Khaḍgas. Some place their rule in the latter part of the 7th and in the beginning of the 8th century,[8] while others

1. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 215.
2. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 41.
3. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 82. Also see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 41 ff.
4. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 276.
5. Watters, Vol. II, p. 109; *CA*, p. 142.
6. *CA*, p. 77. According to C.V. Vaidya, Vaṅga in the 7th and 8th centuries denoted eastern Bengal (*HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 330).
7. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 87.
8. *HNEI*, pp. 252-253. Majumdar (*HB*, Vol. I, p. 87) and H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 275) place them between c. 650 and 700 A.D.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

carry them to the 9th century.[1] However, the history of Khaḍga dynasty after Rājarājabhaṭa is not known.[2]

The Tippera copper plate of *sāmanta* Lokanātha refers to four feudatory kings who ruled in east Bengal in the region round Tippera,[3] before him. The portion of this plate containing the figure for hundreds is mutilated and the extant part gives the year 44. It has been restored to 344 and 144 by R.G. Basak and D.R. Bhandarkar respectively. The former refers it to the Gupta era and calculates 664 A.D.,[4] and the latter to the Harṣa era[5] and obtains c. 750 A.D.

/Tāranātha places the rule of Candra dynasty in Vaṅga before the accession of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty. The last two rulers of the Candra family were Govindacandra and Lalitacandra whose regimes have been placed in the last part of the 7th and in the first quarter of the 8th century respectively.[6] According to R.C. Majumdar, the Khaḍga dynasty was probably overthrown by Govindacandra.[7]/

These surmises regarding the history of Vaṅga in the post-Śaśāṅka period are merely provisional; and the finality can be arrived at only on the discovery of fresh positive evidence. However, the death of Lalitacandra once again let loose the conditions of complete anarchy. And Tāranātha says that in the five eastern provinces *viz.* Bhaṅgala, Oḍiviśa (Orissa) and the rest every Kṣatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa and merchant was a king in his own house, but there was no king ruling over the country.[8] This state of political chaos termed as *mātsyanyāya* in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla,[9] dominated the history of north-eastern India upto the election of Gopāla.

1. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 87.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.
3. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 310-315.
4. *HNEI*, p. 240.
5. *IA*, Vol. LXI, p. 44; *JASB*, 1932, pp. 396 ff.
6. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 89.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *IA*, Vol. IV, pp. 365-366; *HB*, Vol. I, p. 183.
9. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 251, verse 4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Gauḍa

Gauḍa had become a very powerful state in the reign of Śaśāṅka. But his death was followed by its disintegration. And Hiuen Tsang who travelled through Bengal about 638 A.D., refers to five kingdoms in it *viz.* Kajaṅgala (roughly around Rajmahal), Puṇḍravardhana (northern Bengal), Karṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti (west Bengal) and Samataṭa (east Bengal).[1] This state of political dismemberment is also indicated in the *AMMK.* It informs us that the *Gauḍa-tantra* or the political system of Gauḍa was reduced to mutual mistrust leading to civil war in which one king ruled for a week, another for a month and a republic was established. A son of Śaśāṅka is also stated to have ruled for a short time[2] after whom came Jayanāga whose dynasty and date are uncertain.[3] He assumed the imperial title *mahārājādhirāja* and probably ruled over Birbhum and Murshidabad Districts.[4] As we have no information of his achievements, the extent of his dominion cannot definitely be determined.

After Jayanāga's exit, the kingdom of Gauḍa relapsed into anarchic conditions which prevailed there till the accession of Gopāla in c. 750 A.D. In the major part of this interregnum (*i.e.*, 650 to 750 A.D.), certain parts of Gauḍa may have formed part of the dominions of Ādityasena and his three successors.[5] But there is no clear evidence to determine the precise limits of the sway of the Later Gupta rulers over Bengal. According to the Jaina works, king Dharma was ruling in Gauḍa in the time of Yaśovarman, and that the latter had defeated and killed him.[6]

The Gurjara-Pratihāras of Mandor

Hariścandra founded the earliest Pratihāra kingdom about

1. Watters, Vol. II, pp. 182-193, Beal, Vol. II, pp. 193-204, *CA*, p. 142.
2. *IHI*, pp. 50-51.
3. R.G. Basak (*HNEI*, p. 140) and B.P. Sinha (*DKM*, p. 220), however, regard him as a predecessor of Śaśāṅka.
4. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 80.
5. *HB*, Vol. I, pp. 80-81.
6. *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 30, 37; *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita in JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 321.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the middle of the 6th century,[1] with his headquarters at Mandor near Jodhpur. He and his six successors[2] ruled from c. 550 to 720 A.D.[3] Nothing notable is known about them. The power of the family appears to have increased during the reign of the next ruler Śīluka. He is stated to have fixed the boundary (of his kingdom) between Valla and Stravaṇī and defeated Bhaṭṭiya Devarāja who was the lord of the Vallamaṇḍala.[4] As regards the identifications of these places, Valla, according to G.H. Ojha, represents the southern or western division of Jodhpur state.[5] But it is difficult to identify Stravaṇī. R.C. Majumdar holds that if it is identical with Taban of the Arab writers, which probably consisted of a part of the Punjab just to the north-west of Rajputana, Śīluka's kingdom must have roughly corresponded to modern Jodhpur and Bikaner.[6]

On the basis of the phrase *Vallamaṇḍalapālaka* occurring in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuk, Majumdar regards Śīluka to be the head of the confederacy of the Gurjara kingdoms ruling over extensive area including Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat.[7] This contention is untenable. In the first place, the said phrase has been used for the Bhaṭṭi(ka) ruler Devarāja,[8] whom Śīluka had vanquished. Secondly, very little is known about Devarāja. Therefore, in the absence of more details of his conquests and extent of his kingdom, Devarāja, too, can hardly be taken to have ruled over Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. It may also be noted that Śīluka has not been given any imperial title

1. *CA*, p. 65. K.M. Munshi (*Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 43) places his accession in c. 537 A.D., and Ojha (*Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, p. 171) about 597 A.D.
2. These rulers are mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra king Bāuk (*JRAS*, 1894, pp. 4 ff) and in the Ghaṭiyāla inscription of Kakkuka (*Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 516 ff). Their names are Rajjila, Narabhaṭa, Nāgabhaṭa, Tāta and Bhoja (brothers), Yaśovardhana and Canduka. See also *Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, p. 168; *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 49; *EI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 149; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 179; H.D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 16.
3. *CA*, pp. 65, 154.
4. Jodhpur inscription of Bāuk, *JRAS*, 1894, p. 6.
5. *Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, p. 2.
6. *CA*, p. 154.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Bhaṭṭika-Devarājaṁ-Vallamaṇḍalapālakaṁ* (*JRAS*, 1894, p. 9).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

indicative of his paramount position. Thus Śīluka's dominions appear to have embraced the states of Jodhpur and Bikaner. How far it extended beyond these regions, is not known for certain. It was during his reign or in that of his successor, that Rajputana was raided by the Arabs.[1] And whatever the extent of the success of the Arabs, their incursions had definitely dissipated the strength of the Pratihāras.

Nāgabhaṭa I

The sources at our disposal do not furnish clear and credible information regarding the family, early life and headquarters of Nāgabhaṭa I. He has been variously regarded as a feudatory of the Cāpas,[2] Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga[3] and Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[4] But none of these views is supported by any positive evidence. As regards the original centre of his power, some place it in Rajputana[5] and others at Ujjain.[6] Although it is difficult to be definite on these points, Ujjain seems to have been under his sway at least at the time of the Arab advancement towards it.

In the Gwalior *praśasti* of Mihira Bhoja, Nāgabhaṭa I is stated to have appeared like Nārāyaṇa in response to the prayer of the oppressed people, and crushed the armies of the *Mlecchas i.e.*, Arabs.[7] And the account of Bilāduri also bears out that the Arab attack against Ujjain was unsuccessful.[8] Thus

1. *CA*, p. 155. Since the precise dates of Śīluka and his successor are not known, we cannot be sure whether he faced the Arab invasion or his successor.
2. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 99; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 198 ff.
3. Dasharatha Sharma (Ed.), *Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 121; Ojha, *Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 163, 165.
4. H.A. Phadke, 'Was Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I Yaśovarman's contemporary?' in *KURJ*, Vol. I, No. I, March, 1967, pp. 10-12.
5. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 102; *JIH*, Vol. XXII, pp. 93 ff; *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 396-398; *HMHI*, Vol. II, pp. 99-100; *Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 128; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 108.
6. *CA*, p. 155; *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, pp. 78-79; *HK*, pp. 226-227; *JDL*, Vol. X, pp. 23-26.
7. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107, vv. 3-4.
8. While recording the various military expeditions carried out in the time of Junaid, Bilāduri clearly refers to the conquests of Bailmān or

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

western Malwa was defended by Nāgabhaṭa I, for there was no other power in central India at that time, capable of keeping the Tājjikas at bay.

The Hansot inscription of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvardhana dated 756 A.D., records the grant of a village in Broach in the victorious reign of his liegelord Nāgāvaloka, who has been rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa I.[1] This record shows that Nāgabhaṭa had brought Lāṭa under his sway and set up there a feudatory Cāhamāna family after 735-36 A.D. and before 756 A.D.[2] The kingdom of Nāgabhaṭa I at its height is taken to have comprised Bhillamala, Jalor, Abu, Lāṭa and possibly some parts of central India.[3]

The Mauryas and the Guhilas

Several Mori families ruled in the different parts of northern India in the 7th and 8th centuries.[4] According to Hiuen Tsang, king Pūrṇavarmā of the family of the Maurya Aśokarāja was reigning in Magadha at the time of his visit to that state.[5] But in view of the long gap of several centuries that intervened between the fall of the Imperial Mauryas and the rise of petty Mori principalities, and in the absence of any authentic evidence, Hiuen Tsang's statement appears improbable. A fragmentary inscription from Mathura proves the existence of the Moriya

Vallamaṇḍala and Jurz or Gujarat (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 358; *CA*, p. 172). And even the exhaustive list of the states devastated by Tājjikas, given in Pulakeśirāja's record, omits Ujjain (*CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 140-141). In this inscription, the Gurjaras represent their principality of Nāndīpurī. Thus the silence of the Arab historian about the result of the expedition sent against Ujjain when viewed in the light of the evidence of the Nausārī record, clearly points to the failure of this Muslim invasion.

1. *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197, 200.
2. The last known date of Jayabhaṭa IV of Broach is K. year 486 or c. 735 A.D., and the evidence of the Hansot plates of 756 A.D. proves the sway of Nāgabhaṭa I over the region at that time.
3. Sharma, *Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 123. Ojha says that the kingdom of Nāgabhaṭa I extended from Marwar in the north to Broach in the south (*Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, p. 179).
4. *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 284; *CA*, p. 162.
5. Beal, Vol. III, p. 346.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

rule over Mathura region and Kanauj, not long before the rise of Yaśovarman.[1]

The Jhalrapatan inscription of 690 A.D.[2] makes mention of a Mori rājā Durgagaṇa, but it does not furnish any important information about him or his family. Another record of 725 A.D. refers to a Maurya king *śrī* Dhavalappadeva. He has been given the imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* and is mentioned as the liegelord of the Guhila-putra Dhanika who ruled in Udaipur State. This Dhavalappadeva is probably identical with the Maurya ruler Dhavala mentioned in an inscription from Kotah, dated 738-39 A.D.[3]

The Guhilas were feudatories of the Moriyas of Chitor and they came into prominence in the time of Khummaṇa I popularly known as Bappā Rāwal who was the 9th ruler in the family of Guhadatta.[4] He started his political career as a vassal of the Mori monarch Manurāja and probably led the Mori forces against the Arabs. In this expedition, Bappā Rāwal achieved complete victory. This grand success raised his prestige and popularity so much so that he even overshadowed his overlord. And finding a favourable opportunity, he either deposed the Mori monarch and captured the fortress of Chitor; or the Mori ruler died childless and his throne peacefully passed on to his favourite feudatory Bappā Rāwal.[6] The date of Bappā's accession is placed between 728 and 740 A.D.[7]

The Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī

Founded by Dadda I in the last quarter of the 6th

1. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207-212; *GK*, p. 53.
2. Its short notice is available in *IA*, Vol. LVI, p. 213.
3. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 703; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 316; *CA*, pp. 160, 162.
4. *CA*, pp. 159-160.
5. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 318.
6. *HMHI*, Vol. II, p. 74.
7. Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 268-271) places his accession in 728 A.D., Vaidya (*HMHI*, Vol. II, pp. 338-342), and Ojha (*Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, pp. 413-414) not before 734 A.D. Also see *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 319-320.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

century,[1] this Gurjara family became powerful in the reign of Dadda II who claims to have given protection to a Maitraka king against the invasion of Harṣa.[2] The next notable ruler of the dynasty was Dadda III who earned his second name *bāhusahāya* by showing the valour of his arms in the fierce battles fought with the supreme sovereigns of the east and the west.[3] The paramount potentate of the west was probably Śīlāditya III of Valabhī,[4] but the supreme ruler of the east cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.[5] The Cāḷukya ruler Jayasimhavarman of Lāṭa is stated to have defeated king Vajjaḍa between the rivers Narmadā and the Mahī. Vajjaḍa, as has been discussed elsewhere,[6] may be identified with Dadda III.

Dadda III was succeeded by Jayabhaṭa III and the latter by Ahirole. They have been praised in general terms and no important achievement has been attributed to them. They ruled from c. 690 to 720 A.D.[7] But Ahirole's son Jayabhaṭa IV was a powerful ruler. He had defeated the Tājjikas at Valabhī, the capital of the Maitrakas, in the K. year 484[8] or c. 735-36 A.D. Jayabhaṭa IV assumed the title *mahāsāmantādhipati i.e.*, lord of great feudatories, and was most probably a vassal of the Maitraka monarch Śīlāditya IV or V. And it was in the capacity of a suzerain that the latter might have sought support of Jayabhaṭa IV, when the Arabs invaded his kingdom and perhaps

1. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 16; *EI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 149; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 179; Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 49.
2. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 83, 87.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 88.
4. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. LIV.
5. He has been taken to be the king of Malwa (*Ibid.*, p. 83). B.N. Puri endorses this identification but also adds that he may as well have been a western Cāḷukya ruler (*History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 31). We cannot be definite about these identifications, for the history of Malwa during this period is very obscure (see also *JBORS*, Vol. XIX, p. 412), and no powerful potentate who could be referred to as a paramount monarch is known to have ruled in that region.
6. See chapter II, under *Cāḷukyas of Lāṭa*.
7. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 88 ff; *ibid.*, Introduction, pp. LV-VI.
8. See Kavi and Prince of Wales Museum plates, both dated in the K. year 484 (*Ibid.*, pp. 140-141).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

also defeated him.[1] The Gurjara ruler with the double object of obliging his overlord and averting the imminent peril of being himself placed in a similar situation, responded to the call, and he appears to have played a pre-eminent part in defeating the Tājjikas. He, therefore, like Pulakeśirāja took full credit of the victory. This probably explains why Jayabhaṭa IV fought at Valabhī and why this important event is not mentioned in the records of the Maitraka rulers. But despite this success, the Arab onrush soon overtook the Gurjara principality and probably also destroyed it.[2]

The Cāḷukyas of Nausārī

The western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I of Bādāmī had appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman as the governor of south Gujarat and parts of Koṅkaṇ and Nasik District,[3] sometime before 669-70 A.D.[4] In his Nasik plates of c. 685 A.D., Jayasimhavarman is stated to have defeated and routed the entire army of king Vajjaḍa between the rivers Mahī and the Narmadā.[5] V.V. Mirashi suggests that when Vajjaḍa invaded the Gurjara principality, its ruler Dadda III sought support of his suzerain Vikramāditya I who ordered

1. According to R.C. Majumdar, Jayabhaṭa IV had fought at Valabhī as a feudatory of his Caḷukya overlord of the Bādāmī House (*CA*, p. 156). But this contienton has nothing to commend it. In the Nausārī plates of Pulakeśirāja of the K. year 490, Surāṣṭra is included in the list of the states defeated by the Tājjikas (see *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, 141). Surāṣṭra obviously refers to the kingdom of Valabhī.
2. The Nausārī plates of Pulakeśirāja state that the Tājjikas had reached Nausārī after destroying several states including Gurjara principality (*Ibid.*). According to Altekar, it was finally absorbed in the dominions of Dantidurga (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 38).
3. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, Introduction, p. LX.
4. The Nausārī plates of Jayasimhavarman's son Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya of the K. year 421 record that the prosperity of his father was augmented by Vikramāditya I (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 125). It shows that he was appointed ruler shortly before this date. Besides, the Manor grant of Maṅgalarasa of the Śaka year 613 refers to regnal year 21 most probably of Jayasimha's reign (*EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18). D.C. Sircar, however, takes it to refer to the reign of Maṅgalarasa (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 118).
5. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 128-129.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

his provincial governor Jayasimhavarman to meet the situation.[1] But this contention is untenable for following reasons:

(i) Vajjaḍa is not mentioned as an aggressor of the Gurjara principality. He is simply stated to have been vanquished between the Mahī and the Narmadā.
(ii) There is no proof in support of the supposition that the Gurjara ruler sought the help of his Cāḷukya overlord, and that the latter sent Jayasimhavarman to his rescue. As for the identification of Vajjaḍa, it was probably another name or title of Dadda III.[2]

Jayasimhavarman's eldest son Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya predeceased him. He was, therefore, succeeded by his younger son Maṅgalarasarāja Vinayāditya whose reign coincided with that of unwarlike Vijayāditya of the Bādāmī House. Maṅgalarasa seems to have ruled practically independently. His victories are described in general terms.[3] It may also be mentioned here that a Cāḷukya princess named Bhavanāgā who was the daughter or niece of Maṅgalarasa,[4] was forcibly abducted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra I, from the marriage-*paṅḍāl* at Kairā.[5] Her *Rākṣasa-vivāha* poses two problems:

(i) Why her marriage was arranged at Kairā which formed part of the Maitraka kingdom.
(ii) Why there was no retaliation on the part of the either house of the Cāḷukyas.

According to A.S. Altekar, the bridegroom select was

1. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. LX.
2. For contra see *CA*, pp. 149, 244-245; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, Introduction, p. LXI; Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 86.
3. For details see *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118 ff; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 143.
4. Yazdani (ed.), *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 251. In view of the venue of her marriage at Kairā, it is far less likely that Bhavanāgā belonged to the Bādāmī House.
5. *Indrarājastatogṛhāt yaścāḷūkyanṛpātmajām*
Rākṣasena vivāhena raṇe Kheṭakamaṇḍale
(Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, of the Śaka year 793, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 238, verse 7).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

probably a Valabhī prince, hence the wedding was to be performed at Kairā. In our opinion, Maṅgalarasa may have conquered Kairā from the Maitrakas, and to demonstrate his authority in that region, he arranged there the marriage of Bhavanāgā.[1] But before her wedlock could be completed in the contemplated form, Indra I like Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna carried her away perhaps with her consent. Thus Bhavanāgā's marriage appears to have been an admixture of the *Gāndharva* and the *Rākṣasa* forms to which the approval was given by her parents later on.[2] Whatever be the truth, it is certain that feeling confident of his power, Indra I took it to be the fittest occasion to challenge the power of the Maitrakas and the Cāḷukyas at one and the same time.

Maṅgalarasa was succeeded by his younger brother Pulakeśirāja after 731-32 A.D. and before 738-39 A.D.[3] He assumed the imperial title *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and was the most powerful potentate of the dynasty. From his Nausārī inscription we learn that the Tājjikas being desirous to defeat (all) southern sovereigns, had advanced upto Nausārī where Pulakeśirāja inflicted a crushing defeat on them after a fierce fight.[4] And being pleased with his grand success which prevented the penetration of the Arabs in the trans-Vindhyan regions, his overlord Vikramāditya II conferred the following titles on Pulakeśirāja: 'solid pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha', 'ornament of the Cāḷukya family', 'beloved of the earth' and 'repeller of the unrepellable'.[5] But it is significant to note that a powerful liegelord like

1. Although all the Maitraka rulers from Śīlāditya III to Śīlāditya VII bear the imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* (Alīnā copper plate of the Gupta year 447, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 177-180), but no conquests or other achievements of any of these rulers are referred to. And it is probable that Maṅgalarasa may have conquered Kairā at least temporarily from one of them.
2. Altekar also suggests that the "Hindu marriage is indissoluble and, therefore, the estrangement caused by this marriage could not have lasted long. The Cāḷukya ruler may have soon reconciled himself with the accomplished fact" (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 32).
3. The last known date of Maṅgalarasa is 731-32 A.D. (Balsar grant of the Śaka year 653, *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 75; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 5), and the only known date of Pulakeśirāja is 738-39 A.D.
4. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 141.
5. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vikramāditya II is not mentioned by name in the Nausārī inscription. Pulakeśirāja was the last ruler of the dynasty and his only known date is K. year 490 or 738-39 A.D.

The Maitrakas of Valabhī

Represented by modern Vala or Wala, 25 miles from Bhawnagar in eastern Kathiāwār,[1] Valabhī rose to prominence during the reign of the Maitraka monarch Dharasena IV who assumed the imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-cakravartin*[2] and ruled from c. 640 to 650 A.D.[3] The next important ruler of this dynasty was Śīlāditya III. He recaptured Broach from the Gurjaras.[4] Śīlāditya III has been identified with king Vajjaḍa or Vajrāta who was defeated by Dharāśaya Jayasimhavarman between the rivers Mahī and the Narmadā.[5] But this identification is controversial and we also do not agree to it.[6] In an inscription of 694 A.D., the Cāḷukya ruler Vinayāditya of Bādāmī is stated to have imposed his sway over the Mālavas and others.[7] Virji identifies these Mālavas with the Maitrakas and adds that during the reign of Śīlāditya III, the struggle of the Maitrakas with western Cāḷukyas continued.[8] This contention is far fetched. For, Malwa was not the main centre of the Maitraka power although it did form part of their dominions at certain intervals. Moreover, Vinayāditya's victory over such an important ruler should not have been mentioned so vaguely in his own record.[9]

Śīlāditya III was succeeded by his son Śīlāditya IV who continued to bear imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-*

1. *JRAS*, Vol. XIII, 1852, p. 146; *GD*, p. 18; Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 28, note 1.
2. *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 340.
3. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 46.
4. *CA*, p. 148.
5. Nāsik plates on Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman of the K. Year 436, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 128-129; G.H. Khan, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 8 ff.
6. We have suggested that Vajjaḍa may have been another name of Dadda III. See chapter II, under 'Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī'.
7. *CA*, p. 245.
8. *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, pp. 91-92.
9. Vide Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 29-30.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

parameśvara. It was either in his reign or more probably in that of his successor Śīlāditya V that the Arabs had invaded the city of Valabhī where they were defeated by the Gurjara ruler Jayabhaṭa IV of Broach,[1] as discussed earlier.[2] The reigns of the successors of Jayabhaṭa V are beyond the purview of the present topic.

Sind

The history of Sind from the downfall of the Rai Dynasty till its conquest by Muhammad ibn-Kāsim in 712-13 A.D.[3] is chiefly known from the Persian work *Caca-Nāmā* written in A.H. 613 or 1216 A.D.[4] Its account is supported and supplemented by Bilāduri.[5] In addition to these main sources, the memoirs of Hui-ch'ao and a few indigenous epigraphs as well as literary works also provide important information regarding the Arab inroads of western and central India in the third decade of the 8th century.

The *Caca-Nāmā* recounts that the Rai Dynasty was supplanted by a Brāhmaṇa minister Caca about the middle of the 7th century.[6] Caca was a powerful ruler and he is mentioned to have made extensive conquests.[7] He was, however, succeeded by his brother Candara after whose death the kingdom of Sind was divided between the two sons of Caca namely Dāhir and Daharsiā. And when the latter died, Dāhir became ruler of the entire kingdom.[8] It was during his reign that Sind was conquered by Kāsim in 712-13 A.D. Dāhir put up a brave resistance, but fell fighting.[9] Kāsim is also stated to have reached

1. The Prince of Wales Museum and the Kavi plates of Jayabhaṭa IV dated K. year 486 record this event (see *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 106, 140-141).
2. See chapter II, under 'The Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī'.
3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 131.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 131-132; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 3.
5. Bilāduri lived in the 9th century and wrote *Futūhu-l Buldān* which is one of the earliest Arab chronicles (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 113-114).
6. *CA*, p. 166.
7. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 140 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 412; *DHNI*, Vol. 1, p. 5; *CA*, p. 166.
9. *HS*, Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the frontiers of the kingdoms of Kashmir[1] and Kanauj,[2] but further details of these expeditions are not available, and the Muslims themselves do not claim any victory. Even if we believe that Kāsim's contingents had advanced upto the confines of the above-mentioned kingdoms, they were obviously pushed back as has been discussed elsewhere.[3]

Notwithstanding his singular success in the invasion of Sind, Kāsim was put to death in 715 A.D.[4] Here ends the account of the *Caca-Nāmā* and the subsequent history of Sind is recorded by Bilāduri and others. Bilāduri tells us that after Kāsim, followed the weak regimes of Yazīd, Habīb and Amarū respectively. During their short and incompetent governorship, the people of India rebelled and only the country from Debalpur to the Salt sea, remained under the dominions of the Caliph. Chaotic conditions prevailed till the appointment of Junaid as the governor of Sind under the Caliph Hishām (724-743 A.D.).[5]

Junaid defeated and killed Dāhir's son Jaisimha (or Hullishah) after a tough naval fight,[6] consolidated the Arab sway in Sind and then pursued an expansionist policy. Bilāduri states that he made war against Kīraj the people of which had rebelled, and devastated it. He then sent his officers to invade Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaj, Barūs, Uzain and Māliba. They are said to have made incursions against Uzain and burnt the suburbs of Bahrīmad; while Junaid himself conquered al Bailmān and Jurz.[7]

As regards the identifications of these places, R.C. Majumdar suggests that "Marmad evidently stands for Maru-Māra, corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Barwas is undoubtedly Broach, and Bailmān probably refers to Vallamaṇḍala. Malibah and Uzain no doubt stand for Mālva and its

1. *HS*, Vol. III, pp. 37 ff; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 434; Sachau Vol. I, p. 21.
2. *HS*, Vol. III, p. 31.
3. See chapter III, part II, under Yaśovarman's fight with the Pārasīkas. Also see *CA*, p. 132.
4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 209-210, 437-439; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 6; *CA*, p. 169.
5. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 439-441; *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9.
6. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 44; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 9.
7. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 9; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 125-126; *CA*, p. 172.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

capital city Ujjayinī";[1] while Jurj represents Gujarat.[2] Majumdar identifies Kīra with Kāngrā,[3] but Dowson places it somewhere in Kutch.[4] Maṇḍal cannot definitely be identified. It has been taken to represent Oka-Mandal, the western district of Kathiāwār peninsula.[5]

It is significant to note that Bilāduri simply refers to the advancement of the Arab armies under Junaid's generals, against Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaj, Barus and Uzain without referring to the results of these expeditions. And Kīraj, Jurj and Bailmān are stated to have been conquered by Junaid himself. Thus only a few Arab attacks, particularly those led by Junaid, were successful, while others ended in failure. This is further confirmed by the clear references to their victories and defeats recorded in the inscriptions of the Gurjaras and the Cāḷukyas of Lāṭa. Thus the Nausārī inscription of 738-39 A.D. graphically records that the army of the 'Tājjikas poured forth arrows, javelins and devastated prosperous Saindhavas, Kacchellas, Saurāṣṭras, Cāvotakas, Mauryas, Gurjaras and others. And desiring to enter the Dakṣiṇāpatha to defeat southern rulers, they reached Navasārikā where Pulakeśirāja inflicted a crushing defeat on them.'[6] The Arabs are also mentioned to have been defeated by Jayabhaṭa IV,[7] Nāgabhaṭa I[8] and Yaśovarman.[9]

Junaid was the last great general of the Arabs in the period under review. He was followed by Tamīm bin Zaid al Utbī and Hakim al-Kalabī. During their weak regimes, Arabs lost many of the conquered territories. An idea of their insecure position may be gathered from the fact that Hakim had to construct a city named Mahfūza meaning "guarded" where

1. *CA*, p. 172.
2. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, appendix, p. 358.
3. *CA*, p. 173.
4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 391.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 390-91. M.L. Mathur, however, holds that the places raided during the time of Junaid have not been satisfactorily identified (*IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, pp. 327-328).
6. *CII*, Vol IV, Part I, pp. 140-141, 143-144.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 101, 106.
8. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107, vv. 3-4.
9. *GV*, vv. 431-439.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Muslims could secure shelter. He recovered from the Hindus some of the lost regions and also tried to appease his subjects by means of liberal administration, but was killed.[1]

Kashmir

The kingdom of Kashmir emerged into prominence during the rule of the Kārkoṭa or Nāga dynasty founded by Durlabhavardhana about 625 A.D.[2] Kalhaṇa assigns him a reign of thirtysix years,[3] but does not mention any notable event of his time.[4] Durlabhavardhana has been identified with Tu-lo-pa alluded to in the Chinese Annals as king of India who controlled the route from China to the Kabul valley, between 627 and 649 A.D.[5] The most important information about him is supplied by Hiuen Tsang who visited Kashmir between 631 and 633 A.D. He records that Ta-cha-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā), Seng-ha-pu-lo (Simhapura or Salt Range), Wu-la-shih (Uraśā), Pan-nu-t'so (Punch) and Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rājapurī *i.e.*, Rajauri) were included in the dominion of the Kashmir king.[6] It shows that Kashmir had become a powerful kingdom in his reign comprising as it did not only the valley of Kashmir but also a part of the western and north-western Punjab.[7]

Durlabhavardhana was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya[8] who is mentioned to have ruled for fifty years.[9] But there is no reference to his any important achievement. Certain coins bearing the legend *śrīpratāpa* have been attributed to him, but this attribution is not beyond controversy.[10] The

1. *HS*, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.
2. S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 38; P.N. Bamzai Kaul, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 109. Majumdar places his accession in c. 627 A.D. (*CA*, p. 132).
3. *RT*, IV, 6.
4. Kalhaṇa only refers to the construction of a few shrines during his reign (*Ibid.*, IV, vv. 3-4).
5. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 38-39.
6. Watters, Vol. I, pp. 244, 248, 256, 259, 283; *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 87.
7. See also *CA*, p. 132.
8. *RT*, IV, vv. 7-8.
9. *Ibid.*, IV, 44.
10. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 38. For details of these coins see *JRAS*, 1906, p. 843; *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9;

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

next king Candrāpīḍa[1] who was the eldest son of Durlabhaka, distinguished himself as a noble[2] and just[3] ruler. It was most probably during his reign that the Arab army had advanced upto the confines of the kingdom of Kashmir.[4] Candrāpīḍa is stated to have sent two embassies to the Chinese court, one in 713 A.D. for aid against the Arabs, and the other whose purpose is not known, in 720 A.D. The emperor of China gave him the title of 'king' but did not provide any assistance.[5] Candrāpīḍa,[6] however, succumbed to sorcery played upon him by a Brāhmaṇa with the active connivance of his (Candrāpīḍa's) brother Tārāpīḍa, after a rule of eight years and eight months.[7]

The short rule of the tyrant Tārāpīḍa was characterised by cruel acts causing immense terror and sufferings to his subjects.[8] And he, too, was killed by some revengeful Brāhmaṇas by means of witchcraft.[9] Tārāpīḍa was succeeded by his brother Lalitāditya in about 724[10] A.D. He was the greatest ruler of the dynasty. His ambitious imperial policy and extraordinary military dash[11] made Kashmir the strongest kingdom in the contemporary politics.

Kabul and Zabul

Kabul and Zabul were strong states ruled over by the Turki

JNSI, Vol. X, part I, pp. 30-32; *ASIEC*, 1919-20, p. 48; Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 40.

1. *RT*, IV, 45.
2. *Ibid.*, IV, 50.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 53-77, 82-108.
4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 434.
5. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 38; *CA*, p. 132.
6. *RT*, IV, 112.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, 118.
8. Kalhaṇa assigns him a rule of a little more than four years (*RT*, IV, vv. 119, 123).
9. *Ibid.*, IV, 124.
10. *CA*, p. 133.
11. Kalhaṇa tells us that Lalitāditya was beyond the conception of Fate which creates (only) rulers of limited territories (*RT*, IV, 126); and he (Kalhaṇa) makes him (Lalitāditya) say, 'For rivers which have come out of their origin, the ocean is the limit; but there is no limit for conquerors. What is there in my own realm to do if I leave the acquisition of new lands' (*Ibid.*, IV, vv. 342-343).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Shāhi kings. These rulers stood as bulwarks against the Arab invaders from the second quarter of the 7th century till about the middle of the 9th century.[1] This protracted struggle considerably sapped the strength of the Shāhis. The Kārkoṭas of Kashmir, too, were growing in power and they wrested Taxila from the Shāhis.[2] Thus hemmed in by two strong adversaries, they seem to have entered into a sort of subordinate alliance with Kārkoṭa kings, and in the 8th century Lalitāditya appointed them on important administrative posts, conferring high titles on them.[3] Yaśovarman, too, seems to have shown a similar gesture towards the Shāhis.[4]

Appraisal of the Above Account

The above survey serves to bring out a state of political vaccum in the Madhyadeśa. In eastern India, Magadha was the strongest state, comprising as it did the major part of Bihar and also some portions of Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. But Bengal presented the worst scene of political fragmentation. Sind was captured by Muhammad ibn-Kāsim in 712-713 A.D., but his weak successors failed to retain their hold over the conquered regions. The next competent governor Junaid restored the Arab suzerainty in Sind, and vanquished several small states in Rajputana, Gujarat and central India. It may also be pointed out that whenever Junaid or his generals measured their strength with any powerful ruler of India, the Arabs almost invariably sustained defeats. And their attempt to conquer the Deccan and south India was foiled at Nausārī in Gujarat. Junaid's successors like those of Kāsim proved equally or even more incompetent. During their times, the Arab sway had become precarious in Sind itself, and none of the subdued states of western India ever acknowledged their authority. Thus the Arabs failed in their bid to become a dominant factor in

1. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 64 ff; *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXVII, 1966, pp. 86 ff; D.B. Pandey, *Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, p. 59.
2. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 73.
3. *RT*, IV, vv. 142-143.
4. Yaśovarman had appointed at least one Shāhi Turk as his minister and incharge of the north-western boundary of his dominions (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 41), which was exposed to the Arab attacks.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Indian politics in the age under review, and their temporary success remained confined only to a fringe of western India. Nevertheless, their inroads had definitely devastated several petty principalities and thus indirectly paved the way for political integration. The activities of the powers in Rajputana and Gujarat were confined to a limited territory. As regards other parts of northern India, Kashmir had its rank among the powerful kingdoms in the reign of Candrāpīḍa, but it suffered an eclipse in the time of Tārāpīḍa. And when Lalitāditya ascended the throne about 724 A.D., he found unsettled political conditions in his dominions, and the task of raising it to the rank of an empire fell upon him.

Thus in the beginning of the 8th century A.D., there was no first-rate political power in northern India, and the politics of its major part was marked by disintegration which had set the stage for the rise of imperial rulers. Yaśovarman emerged in Kanauj and Lalitāditya in Kashmir; while in the second quarter of the 8th century the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I integrated several small states of Rajputana, southern Gujarat and central India. It may also be added that the eastern boundary of Yaśovarman's dominions abutted on the western limit of the kingdom of Magadha; and his north-western border was almost contiguous with the south-eastern confines of the kingdom of Kashmir. And when the powerful potentates of these states pursued an expansionist policy, their mutual clashes became inevitable.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

3

Yaśovarman of Kanauj

I. LINEAGE, EARLY LIFE AND REIGN PERIOD

Lineage

The lineage of Yaśovarman is controversial. A. Cunningham,[1] S.K. Aiyangar,[2] C.V. Vaidya,[3] E.A. Pires,[4] and Buddha Prakash[5] consider him to be a Maukhari apparently on the grounds of the name-ending *varman*, the alleged connection of both Yaśovarman and the Maukharis with the Candravaṁśa, and existence of the Maukhari rule over Kanauj not long before the advent of Yaśovarman.

As for the termination *varman*, it was used by the rulers of several dynasties,[6] besides the Maukharis. Yaśovarman's lineage, therefore, cannot be decided on this basis. And the lunar ancestry of the Maukharis which is sought to provide a link between them and Yaśovarman, is also not beyond doubt and controversy.[7]

1. *ASIR*, Vol. XV, p. 164. Also see N. Ray, *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1928, p. 216.
2. *AISIHC*, Vol. I, p. 322.
3. *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 335.
4. *Maukharis*, pp. 135-137.
5. *AIHC*, pp. 102-103.
6. All the rulers of the dynasty of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa used the name-ending *varman*; and the names of several kings of the Mauryan, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and other dynasties of both north and south India terminated in *varman*.
7. For details see Pires, *Maukharis*, pp. 10-14; *HK*, pp. 28-30.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vākpati records that his patron was an ornament in the line of the kings of the family of Rajanīramaṇa,[1] *i.e.*, Candra; and that he retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family.[2] It points to Yaśovarman's connection with some prominent ancient royal Kṣatriya family. The Jaina works support the information of the *Gauḍavaho* and tell us the name of Yaśovarman's family. Thus the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita* describes him as 'the illustrious ruler of Kanyakubja, and the headjewel of the famous dynasty of Candragupta; by whom was made illustrious, the already illustrious family of the Mauryas.'[3] According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, Yaśovarman had descended from and was a bright ornament of the family of Candragupta.[4]

R.S. Tripathi treats the evidence of the Jaina works as incredible on the ground that the names of the Mauryan rulers did not end in *varman*, and also because it is not substantiated by any other source.[5] These arguments are not convincing. Mauryan rulers did not use a common name-ending, though the names of a few kings did end in *varman*. For example, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* include Devavarman among the rulers of the dynasty of Candragupta Maurya.[6] And Hiuen Tsang informs us that Pūrṇavarmā, a scion of the Maurya Aśokarāja (*i.e.*, Aśoka) was ruling in Magadha[7] at the time of his visit to that state. The Bandora plates acquaint us with a later Maurya king named Anirjitavarman, who has been placed in the 6th or 7th century A.D.[8] Notwithstanding the contention of R.S. Tripathi to the contrary, the information furnished by the Jaina works does not lack corroboration. That Yaśovarman restored the glory of his family is supported by the *Gauḍavaho*, as has been noticed above. Besides, a fragmentary inscription

1. *Vaṁsammi tassa-rayaṇiramaṇassa purā pariṭṭhiāpahuṇo*
   Je tāṇa aha paṇāmo eso una kiṁpi ṇivvaḍio (*GV*, 1065)
2. *Lahuīkayāvi guṇa-gāraveṇa garuyāvi ṇiyaya-kula-uvvā*
   Appāṇa-gāraveṇaṁ puṇovi guruī kayā jeṇa (*Ibid.*, 1014)
3. *Varya-Maurya-mahāgotra-sambhūtasya mahādyuteḥ*
   Śrī Candraguptabhūpāla vaṁśamuktāmaṇi śriyaḥ
   Kanyakubja-Yaśovarmā . . . . . (*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 314)
4. *PC*, XI, vv. 46-47.
5. *HK*, p. 194.
6. Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 29; *JBRS*, Vol. XLV, Parts I-IV, 1959, p. 465.
7. Beal, Vol. III, p. 348.
8. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293-294.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from Mathura (assigned to the 7th-8th century A.D.) makes mention of three Maurya kings, *viz.* Candragupta, his son Āryarāja and the latter's son Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja. Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja is stated to have led an expedition against Kanauj and sacked it.[1]

This inscription bears out that the Later Mauryas were ruling over the Mathura region, and that they had also conquered Kanauj not long before the accession of Yaśovarman. The reference to Candragupta is significant, as it lends support to the account of the Jaina works which also connect Yaśovarman with the family of Candragupta. The evidence of the Jaina works is no doubt much later[2] than the period of Yaśovarman, but it may be relied upon because it receives some corroboration from both literary and epigraphic sources.

Thus there is no evidence to prove the Maukhari ancestry of Yaśovarman. He should also not be regarded as an isolated ruler.[3] The cumulative evidence of the *Gauḍavaho*, the Mathura inscription and the Jaina works seems to show that he belonged to the family of the later Mauryas of Uttar Pradesh.[4] It is not necessary to visualise a link with the old Maurya family of Candragupta and Aśoka across so many centuries. Yaśovarman might have inherited the kingdom of Kanauj from his own forebears of a newly risen Maurya family, or else won it for himself by his own prowess.

Early Life

Very little light is thrown on the early life of Yaśovarman. According to the *AMMK*, a king named Śrī ruled for 81 years and that his feudatory or servant whose name began with the letter *Ya* had an unquestioned rule of eight years.[5] K.P.

1. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 211.
2. None of these works is earlier than the 13th century A.D. (*GV*, Introduction, p. CLV).
3. V.A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 786) and R.S. Tripathi (*HK*, p. 194) treat Yaśovarman as an isolated ruler having no connection with any ruling family.
4. See also *GK*, p. 53.
5. *IHI*, pp. 68-69. For the reference of the *AMMK*, see *Ibid.*, p. 64, vv. 861-862.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Jayaswal identifies king Śrī with Ādityasena of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and *Ya* with Yaśovarman. He adds that Yaśovarman was an outsider who interposed for 8 years after Devagupta whom he (Yaśovarman) had killed.[1]

Based as it is on a tenuous testimony, this identity cannot be accepted. Yaśovarman was a contemporary of Jīvitagupta II, and his predecessors Ādityasena and Devagupta flourished earlier than the Kanauj king. Secondly, it is not known from any source that Yaśovarman was a feudatory of the Magadha king and that he later on seized the throne (obviously of Magadha) after killing his overlord Devagupta. Thirdly, the Deo-Barṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II gives no indication of any disturbance in succession after Devagupta.

The *Gauḍavaho* seems to refer to the situation in which Yaśovarman arose. It tells us that he came to the succour of the Mother Earth and restored her stability when she was threatened by the Dānavas[2] (*i.e.*, Arabs ?). The Earth is also stated to have appealed to him for her own safety as well as for that of the *dharma*.[3] Vākpati adds that Yaśovarman's rise marked the greatness of the age[4] and revived the glory of his family.[5] These references indicate a state of political crisis when the country needed a saviour. Yaśovarman took its advantage and occupied the throne of Kanauj.

Reign Period

The sources which throw light on the period of Yaśovarman's reign are the observations of Hui-ch'ao, the records of the T'ang dynasty, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and the Jaina works *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, *Prabhāvakacarita* and *Prabandhakośa*. Among these, Kalhaṇa merely confirms Yaśovarman's contemporaneity with Lalitāditya[6] whom he places between 695

1. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
2. *GV*, vv. 849-856.
3. *GV*, vv. 1046, 1063.
4. *Ibid.*, 706.
5. *Ibid.*, 1065.
6. See *RT*, IV, vv. 133-145.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and 731-32 A.D.[1] Following Kalhaṇa's chronology, S.P. Pandit says that "Yaśovarman must have reigned in the latter part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth century."[2] C.V. Vaidya[3] and Buddha Prakash[4] have roughly accepted these dates. But Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Kārkoṭa period has been amended by adding to it twentyfive,[5] thirty,[6] thirtyone[7] and thirtyeight[8] years, on the basis of the evidence furnished by the Chinese sources. For, the Chinese are known to have been very particular about chronology, and they have properly recorded the dates as well as other relevant details of their contacts with India. But ancient Indian writers on the contrary were extremely adverse to record chronological details, and Kalhaṇa may be regarded as the sole exception. His account, though fairly reliable for the Kārkoṭa and later periods,[9] is nevertheless marked by many limitations and discrepancies.[10] Therefore, the Chinese evidence deserves much more credence than that of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* so far as chronological details are concerned. Consequently Lalitāditya's accession is generally placed in the third decade of the 8th century,[11] and he ruled for more than thirtysix years.[12] Thus Yaśovarman being his contemporary may have ruled in the major part of this period.

The Chinese records tell us that a king of central India named Yi-sha-fu-mo sent his Buddhist minister Pu-tasin or Seng-po-ta to the court of China in 731 A.D. Yi-sha-fu-mo

1. S.P. Pandit places his accession in 695 A.D. (*GV*, Introduction, p. XCV). and according to Kalhaṇa, he ruled for more than thirtysix years (*RT*, IV, 366).
2. *GV*, Introduction, pp. XCV-VI.
3. *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 338.
4. *AIHC*, pp. 103 ff.
5. *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 68, 88.
6. *CA*, p. 132.
7. *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, p. 430; *HK*, p. 195.
8. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165.
9. U.N. Ghoshal, *St.IHC*, p. 242; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 112.
10. Basham in *HIPC*, pp. 26, 60, 64; *GV*, Introduction, p. CXCI; *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 28, 31.
11. Majumdar places his accession in c. 724 A.D. (*CA*, p. 133).
12. According to Kalhaṇa, Lalitāditya ruled for thirtysix years, seven months and eleven days (*RT*, IV, 366).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

has rightly been identified with Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[1] Thus this piece of evidence serves to show that the reign of Kanauj king must have commenced before 731 A.D. But Hui-ch'ao gives us a much closer clue of the date of Yaśovarman's accession to the throne. He says that the "king of Central India (viz. Yaśovarman) himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with (other) rulers and . . . is always victorious."[2] This account clearly bears out that Yaśovarman was yet trying to become a paramount potentate in 723-24 A.D., when Hui-ch'ao visited his kingdom. And he might have set out on his conquering expeditions only after consolidating his position at home which must have taken a few years' time. Hence his accession may be placed in c. 720 A.D.[3] This date derives some support from the account of the *Caca-Nāmā* which records that Rai Haracandara was ruling over Kanauj in the time of Muhammad ibn-Kāsim who governed Sind from 712 to 715 A.D.[4] If this information is correct, then the commencement of the rule of the Kanauj king should be placed after 715 A.D.[5]

As regards the termination of Yaśovarman's reign, it can be fixed with much more certainty on the basis of the evidence furnished by the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, the *Prabhāvakacarita* and the *Prabandhakośa*. These works unanimously record that the Jaina saint Bappabhaṭṭi who was initiated as a monk in V.S. 807,[6] converted to Jainism Yaśovarman's son Āmarāja, and that he (Bappabhaṭṭi) himself was raised to the rank of a

1. P.C. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71; *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89; *ASIAR*, Vol. III, p. 135; *HK*, p. 196.
2. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165.
3. Cunningham (*ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 135), V.A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 784) and Adris Banerji (*IC*, Vol. XV, p. 209) also place his accession in c. 720 A.D.
4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 209-211, 437-439.
5. R.C. Majumdar, however, places Yaśovarman's accession in c. 700 A.D. (*CA*, p. 131), R.S. Tripathi in 725 A.D. (*HK*, pp. 196-197), V.A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 784) and D.C. Sircar (*EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 247) in 728 A.D. But no convincing evidence has been adduced in support of these dates.
6. *Śatāṣṭake ca varṣāṇām gate Vikramakālataḥ*
   Saptādhike (*i.e.*, 807 V.S.) *rādhaśuklatṛtīyādivase gurau*
   Moḍhere to vihṛtyāmum dīkṣityā nāma cādadhuḥ (*PC*, XI, vv. 28-29; *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 314). Also see *Prabandhakośa*, p. 27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sūri in V.S. 811 when his royal disciple Āma had already begun to rule at Kanauj.[1] Thus the death of Yaśovarman and the accession of his son Āma have to be placed between V.S. 807 and 811 or c. 749 and 753 A.D. These dates fairly fit in the chronology of the period and have been accepted by R.G. Bhandarkar,[2] R.S. Tripathi,[3] and D.C. Sircar.[4] But R.C. Majumdar[5] places the end of Yaśovarman's rule in c. 740 A.D. and V.A. Smith[6] in 745 A.D.; while S.K. Aiyangar[7] and E.A. Pires[8] carry it to 755 A.D. But there is no positive evidence to justify these dates.

II. CONQUESTS

"After Bāṇa, the concept of a *Chakravartin* becomes the central theme of the mid-land school of historiography",[9] and the *digvijayas* of kings began to be popularly recorded by their court-poets. Thus Bhavabhūti presents Rāma[10] and Rāvaṇa as universal conquerors and describes the *Aśvamedha* as "the pre-eminent and mighty test of the superiority of the world subduing Kṣatriyas" and the horse (of the *Aśvamedha*) "as the banner or rather the proclamation of the valour of the only hero of seven worlds".[11] Vākpati recounts the conquests of Yaśovarman as follows:

1. *Ekādaśādhike tatra jāte varṣa śatāṣṭake* (811)
   Vikramāt so-abhavatsūriḥ . . . . . .
   Śrīmad-Āmamahābhūpaśreṣṭhāmātyoparodhataḥ
   Anicchatopi saṅghasya praisit taiḥ saha tam guruḥ
   Prayāṇaiḥ prayaṇaiḥ prāpa Kanyakubjapuram tataḥ (*PC*, XI, vv. 115-117). Also see *Prabandhakośa*, p. 29.
2. *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, p. 432.
3. *HK*, pp. 196-197.
4. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 247.
5. *CA*, p. 131.
6. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 784.
7. *AISIHC*, Vol. I, pp. 338-339.
8. *The Maukharis*, p. 157.
9. V.S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 74.
10. *MVC*, I, 33.
11. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 218.
    Aśvamedha iti nāma viśvajayinām Kṣatriyāṇāmūrjasvalaḥ
    Sarvakṣatra paribhāvī mahānutkarṣanikasaḥ (*URC*, IV, p. 124 and verse 27)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

After taking a ceremonial bath with the recitation o f the Vedic mantras and performing suitable sacrifices, Yaśovarman embarked on his adventurous military expeditions for conquering the whole earth, at the end of the rainy season.[1] The court-poets and the bards eulogised his valour and greatness in a conventional manner at the time of his departure.[2]

Moving beyond his capital city, Yaśovarman first halted in the valley of Śoṇa[3] wherefrom he proceeded to the temple of the Vindhyavāsinīdevī to offer respects to the goddess.[4] While he was camping in the Vindhyan region, the king of Magadha fled in fear.[5] But his allies exhorted him to hazard an encounter. Consequently a sanguine battle ensued which ended in the defeat and death of the Magadhan monarch.[6]

Yaśovarman then proceeded along the eastern coast and reached the kingdom of Vaṅga. The ruler of this state is stated to have had a powerful elephantry. But he was vanquished and the people of Vaṅga offered submission after some resistance.[7] Vākpati next takes his patron to the Malaya-mountains, and he is stated to have received obeisance of a southern king (*dakṣiṇa-diśā-narendra*).[8]

In the course of his farther march, Yaśovarman fought with the Pārasīkas. Vākpati graphically records that in this fierce, challenging and protracted battle[9] which caused great carnage, Kanauj king's cavalry, infantry and elephantry fought with exceptional valour and achieved complete victory.[10]

He then exacted taxes from the regions fortified by the western mountains.[11] Beyond this he reached the river Narmadā

1. *GV*, 192. Raghu also set out on his *digvijaya* on the termination of the rainy season, after performing sacrifices (*RV*, IV, vv. 24-25). According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, a king was to start on conquests on an auspicious day, after performing sacrifices and worshipping the deities (*Viṣṇudharmottara*, II, CLXXVI, vv. 1-47).
2. *GV*, vv. 212-254.
3. *Ibid.*, 276.
4. *Ibid.*, vv. 284-338.
5. *Ibid.*, 354.
6. *Ibid.*, vv. 414-417.
7. *Ibid.*, vv. 419-420.
8. *Ibid.*, 423.
9. *Ibid.*, 439.
10. *Ibid.*, vv. 431-439.
11. *Ibid* , 459.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

where he halted for some time.[1] Thence he returned to that part of the sea-coast where the gods after churning the ocean first found the jar of nectar.[2] Verses 466-470 of the *Gauḍavaho* which are found in three of the *MSS.* but have been ignored by the commentator Haripāla, carry Yaśovarman upto Dwarka,[3] from where he advanced towards Maru-*deśa*.[4] Next he proceeded to Śrīkaṇṭha[5] where he stayed for quite some time visiting at Kurukshetra the spots associated with the *Mahābhārata* war.[6] Thence he went to Hariścandranagarī and built a temple there.[7] He then received tributes in the Mandara mountains.[8] Next he advanced towards north where his valour became irresistible.[9] Yaśovarman was welcomed in the regions, "fragrant with the gum exuding from the fissures of the Devadārus and which were cooled with the odour of new liquor, scented with spices."[10] Having thus completed his triumphant military expeditions. Yaśovarman returned to his capital Gādhipura[11] and permitted his feudatories and allies to return to their realms.[12] We are also informed that the Kanauj king was coronated after the completion of his conquests.[13]

Identifications of the Territories Mentioned in the Digvijaya

The above account clearly shows that Vākpati has not followed a proper geographical order in describing the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman; and, therefore, it is difficult to reconstruct the correct route and sequence of his conquests. We may, however, arrange them as follows:

1. *GV*, 465.
2. *Ibid.*, 470.
3. *Ibid.*, supplementary notes, pp. CCXXXIII-XXXIV.
4. *Ibid.*, 471.
5. *Ibid.*, 484.
6. *Ibid.*, vv. 486-491.
7. *Ibid.*, 507.
8. *Ibid.*, 510.
9. *Ibid.*, 511.
10. *Ibid.*, 512.
11. *Ibid.*, 537.
12. *Ibid.*, 688.
13. *Ibid.*, 1207.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Gādhipura

The capital of Yaśovarman wherefrom he set out on his *digvijaya* is, however, mentioned at the conclusion of his conquests under the name Gādhipura.[1] Vākpati does not furnish any topographical or other details of Kanauj. According to Rājaśekhara, Kānyakubja was the headjewel of the Gaṅgā,[2] situated in the Pāncāla *viṣaya*.[3] Among its several synonyms, Kānyakubja,[4] Kanyakubja,[5] and Mahodaya[6] appear to have been more popular than Gādhipura,[7] in the age under review. Kānyakubja is modern Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh.[8] This ancient city[9] had great strategic and other advantages.[10]

1. *Ibid.*, 737.
2. *Puram ca Kānyakubjam saricca-Gaurīyati maulimālā* (*Bālarāmāyaṇa*, X, 89).
3. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, 1, 20, vv. 2-3.
4. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 211.
5. Khalimpur grant, *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 248; *RT*, IV, 135; *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165.
6. Daulatpur plates, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 211.
7. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Gādhipura is mentioned as the capital of king Gādhi and birth-place of sage Viśvāmitra (Bālakāṇḍa, LI, vv. 19-20). See also *GD*, p. 89.
8. For details see *IGI*, Vol. XIV, p. 370; *Gazetteer of Farrukhabad*, p. 217; *GD*, p. 89.
9. Excavations conducted by K.K. Sinha at Kanauj, have revealed four cultural periods. Period I could be dated 1000 B.C. or slightly later on the basis of a sherd of the Painted Grey Ware and a mass of red and black slipped ware associated with it. There were no structures in period I. Period II had a single brick structure of large sized bricks. From the recovery of the Northern Black Polished Ware and associated wares, this period could be dated from 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. In period III, the structures were mostly of burnt bricks. From the earliest level of this period was found pottery of red ware with impressed designs and symbols typical of the Kuṣāṇa period. Its terminal date may be early medieval period. Period IV yielded the remains of the late medieval period (*Indian Archaeology*, A Review, 1955-56, pp. 19-20).
10. A. Cunningham rightly remarks that 'The situation (of Kanauj) is a commanding one, and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kanoj a strong and important position" (*AGI*, p. 436). Besides, it stood on the highway of trade and communication and was a convenient centre for river traffic. For details see B.S. Upadhyay,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Śoṇa

It is modern Son which rises in the Maikala range in the Jabalpur District and flowing north-east through Baghelkhand, Mirzapur and Shahabad Districts, joins the Gaṅgā near Patna.

Vindhya

Yaśovarman's halt in the Vindhyan region may be located by the reference to the shrine of the Vindhyavāsinīdevī which now stands on the top of a hill near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh.

Magadha

The state of Magadha lay beyond Śoṇa and to the south of the Gaṅgā. "It was bounded by the Son on the west, the Gaṅgā on the north and the spurs of the Vindhyan plateau which touch the Gaṅgā near Monghyr on the east, and Vindhyan forests on the south."[1] In the age under survey, it roughly comprised the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr and Bhagalpur.[2]

Vaṅga

Vaṅga in this period comprised the southern and eastern Bengal.[3] According to Adris Banerji,[4] the modern districts of Dacca, Bakerganj, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur and Noakhali (of the present Bangladesh) were included in it.

Gauḍa

Vākpati has significantly omitted Gauḍa while describing

Buddha Kālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola, p. 421; Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, pp. 16, 18-19; Balram Srivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, pp. 67-70.

1. *GP*, p. 136.
2. *DKM*, Introduction, XVI.
3. *CA*, p. 77. According to C.V. Vaidya, Vaṅga in the 7th-8th centuries denoted eastern Bengal (*HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 330).
4. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 206.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the conquests of his patron.[1] But his victory over it is an established fact.[2] Gauḍa roughly represented northern and western Bengal[3] in the age under review. The *Anargharāghava* of Murāri (latter half of the 8th century) mentions Campā as the capital of Gauḍa and places it to the east of Mithilā.[4] According to the *Prabandhakośa*[5] and the *Prabhāvakacarita*,[6] Lakṣṇāvatī was its headquarter in the time of Yaśovarman. Burnell also takes it (Lakṣṇāvatī) to be the capital of Gauḍa in 730 A.D.[7] Since Murāri flourished not long after Yaśovarman, his information may be taken as correct.[8] Lakṣṇāvatī *i.e.*, Lakhnauti in all probability became the capital of Gauḍa in the time of Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1189-1206 A.D.) and not earlier.[9]

Malaya Mountains and other Regions of South India

Malaya mountains "represent the southern parts of the Western Ghats, south of the river Kāverī, called Travancore Hills, extending from Koimbatur gap to Cape Comorin."[10] In his farther advance along the sea-coast, Yaśovarman is stated to have reached the spot where Rāvaṇa had offered his ten heads to Śiva. This place seems to be represented by Gokarna Mahabaleshvar.[11] He is also mentioned to have received tributes in the Koṅkaṇ *i.e.*, the whole strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea.[12]

1. The account of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya* covers couplet Nos. 192-737, but the killing of the Gauḍa ruler is casually referred to in verse 1194.
2. The fact that the killing of the Gauḍa king gave its title to Vākpati's poem proves it beyond doubt. And it is also confirmed by the Jaina works. See *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 30, 37; *PC*, XI, vv. 461-462.
3. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 13. Also see *St.GAMI*, p. 113.
4. *Anargharāghava*, VII, p. 485.
5. *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 31, 37.
6. *PC*, XI, vv. 461-462.
7. *Burnell's Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 55, quoted by N.L. Dey in *GD*, pp. 112-113.
8. *St.GAMI*, p. 110.
9. See also *HB*, Vol. I, p. 14; *GD*, pp. 112-113.
10. *GD*, p. 122.
11. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 207.
12. *GD*, p. 103.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Narmadā

The river Narmadā starts from the Amarakantaka Hill and meets the Bay of Cambay near Broach.[1] It takes its course in between the two mountain ranges of the Vindhya and the Satpura.[2]

Dwarka

It is situated on the sea coast[3] in Gujarat.[4]

Maru-deśa

Maru-*deśa i.e.*, Marwar is the western part of Rajputana.[5] Which part of this vast desert land is meant by Vākpati, we do not know.

Pārasīkas

According to D.R. Bhandarkar, the mention of the Pārasīkas in the records from c. 300 A.D. to 700 A.D. must refer to the Iranians of the time of or connected with Sassanian dynasty. But if the reference is of a later period, he adds, then it must refer to the Muhammadan inhabitants of Persia.[6] The Pārasīkas of the *Gauḍavaho* represent the Arabs whom Yaśovarman might have defeated most probably in western India.[7] But other contemporary and later sources refer to the Arabs as the

1. *Immortal India*, Vol. IV, p. 24.
2. *HGAI*, p. 36.
3. *Jain HVP*, Part II, LXI, vv. 16-25.
4. *GD*, pp. 58-59.
5. *Marwar Gazetteer*, p. 1; B.N. Reu, *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, p. 1. N.L. Dey holds that Marwar denotes the whole of Rajputana (*GD*, p. 127).
6. *ABORI*, Vol. VIII, p. 134. The Pārasīkas are referred to in the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* (III, vv. 29-30), *RV* (IV, 160), *MR* (II, p. 90), *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 17), *HC*, (VII, p. 318), *Kādambarī* (Peterson's translation, p. 78), in the inscriptions of the western Cāḷukyas (*EI*, Vol. V, p. 203; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX p. 202) and in several other works (see *PHAI*, p. 628; *GP*, p. 131; *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 352 ff).
7. See also *CA*, p. 130; *AIHC*, pp. 105-106.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tājjikas,[1] Mlecchas, Turuṣkas[2] or Yavanas.[3]

Śrīkaṇṭha and Kurukshetra

Śrīkaṇṭha emerged into political prominence in the 6th century A.D. when it became the centre of the power of the Puṣpabhūtis with its capital at Sthāṇīśvara,[4] modern Thaneswar, about twentyfive miles south of Ambala.[5] And Kurukshetra comprised the entire region lying immediately around Thaneswar, and between the Saraswatī and Dṛṣadwatī rivers.[6] Vākpati figuratively describes Kurukshetra as the spot where Bhīma had struck at the thighs of Duryodhana, and includes it in the Śrīkaṇṭhadeśa.[7]

Mandara Hills and Uttaradiśā

Mandara is a portion of the Himalayas to the east of Sumeru in Garhwal.[8] The commentator Haripāla wrongly calls it Mahendra[9] which lies to the south of Kanauj on the eastern coast.[10] Vākpati carries Yaśovarman to the Himalayan regions where his prowess is stated to have become unbearable. The

1. Kavi and Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa IV (*CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 101 and 106 respectively) and Nausārī plates of Pulakeśirāja (*Ibid*, pp. 140-141). Hui-ch'ao also describes them as Tājjikas (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 1-2, p. 30). For the significance of the term Tājjaika, see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. VII, ii, p. 326, note).
2. Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107 and vv. 4, 8.
3. Khalimpur record of Dharmapāla refers to the Yavanas which according to A. Ghosh and R.S. Awasthy, "must refer to the Muhammadan principality of Multan which had been conquered by Kāsim and had been since then under the Muslim rule" (*JIH*, Vol. XV, p. 164).
4. *HC*, III, pp. 159-168.
5. *GD*, p. 194.
6. *AGI*, p. 380.
7. *GV*, vv. 472-491.
8. *GD*, p. 125.
9. On verse 510 of the *Gauḍavaho*.
10. Also see *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 343.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

poet has used the term—*Yakṣādhipalakṣitām* for the northern quarter.

Evaluation of the Digvijaya Praśasti

Vākpati presents his patron as a *cakravarti* emperor whose conquests covered the vast territory from the Himalayas in the north to the Malaya mountains in the south, and from the Bay of Bengal in the east, to Dwarka in the west. Also in the Nālandā inscription, Yaśovarman is described as a great conqueror who had placed his foot on the heads of all kings and completely removed the darkness in the form of his foes, by the diffusion of the rays of his sword.[1] And Hui-ch'ao tells us that 'the territory of the Central Indian king (*viz.*, Yaśovarman) was very broad. He himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with (other) rulers and was always victorious.'[2] These pieces of evidence lend support to Vākpati's account.

As regards the historical value of this *digvijaya-praśasti*, C.V. Vaidya takes only the killing of the Gauḍa king (by Yaśovarman) as based on truth. He adds that no kings are mentioned by name, not even the Gauḍa ruler, and no kingdoms are referred to in the south, west and north. Perhaps the non-completion of the chief poem shows that the poet conceived the *digvijaya* as a probable event and not an actual fact.[3] R.S. Tripathi subscribes to his view and says that Vākpati "took the conquests of the mythical Raghu as a model for singing the alleged achievements of his hero."[4] V.A. Smith on the contrary contends, "I see no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the contemporary testimony. There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king occupying at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arms eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmadā and northwards to the foot of the mountains."[5]

Despite the discrepancies pointed out by Vaidya and

1. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
2. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165.
3. *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 342-343.
4. *HK*, p. 200.
5. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 779.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tripathi, a substantial part of Vākpati's account particularly regarding Yaśovarman's conquests in northern India, is based on fact and it receives corroboration from the epigraphic and other sources, as has been discussed at relevant places. And as regards the non-mention of the names of the defeated kings and kingdoms, it was a very common weakness of ancient Indian writers.[1] But we often rely on the information furnished by their works if it is supported by other sources and appears probable. Based as it is on the first-hand knowledge, Vākpati's narration can hardly be compared to the *digvijaya* of Raghu recorded in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. As for the non-completion of the *Gauḍavaho*, its reasons have been discussed elsewhere.[2] However, Vākpati's account cannot be accepted at its face value because it is not only manifested with the flatteries of a courtier, but is also at certain places marked by ambiguity, and improbabilities. And, therefore, we have critically discussed below each and every military campaign of Yaśovarman recorded in the *Gauḍavaho*:

Conquest of Magadha

The account of the *Gauḍavaho* shows that Yaśovarman made his first halt in the Vindhyan region where he appears to have stayed for about a year,[3] and his camp was located not far

1. For example, Bāṇa (*HC*, IV, p. 203) and Bilhaṇa (see Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, pp. 78-79) while describing the conquests of Prabhākaravardhana and Vikramāditya VI respectively, omit the names of defeated rulers. The Nāsik cave inscription of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman I, which record respectively the conquests of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman I, do not mention the names of the conquered rulers (see *Selected Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and 172 respectively). Similarly, the Nausārī record of Pulakeśirāja (*CII*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 140-141) and the Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja (*EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 108, vv. 6-8) omit the names of the rulers defeated by the Arabs and Nāgabhaṭa II respectively.
2. See chapter I under 'Justification of the title *Gauḍavaho*'.
3. Yaśovarman started on his *digvijaya* at the end of the rainy season (*GV*, 192) and made his first stay in the Vindhyan region. And the rains again are stated to have set in while he was camping there (*Ibid.*, vv. 383-413).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from the shrine of the Vindhyavāsinīdevī at Vindhyācala in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh.[1] Vākpati would have us believe that seeing Yaśovarman's movements in the Vindhyan forest, the ruler of Magadha retreated on account of fear, without risking an encounter. But his allies spurred him to stand and fight. Consequently, a sanguine battle was fought in which the Magadha king was defeated and slain and his royal ladies were enslaved. Thus Vākpati's account shows the simultaneous presence of both Yaśovarman and the king of Magadha in the Vindhyan region.

It seems that the king of Magadha was naturally alarmed at Yaśovarman's march upto and stay in the Vindhyan forest. He, therefore, reached there to defend his dominions against the aggression of the Kanauj king. As we have already noticed in chapter II, Hui-ch'ao locates one of the four *stūpas* (which were situated within the kingdom of Magadha) at Sarnath.[2] And the Deo-Barṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II refers to his victorious camp at Gomatikoṭṭaka which has been rightly located by Fleet on the bank of the river Gomatī between Ghazipur and Varanasi.[3] These evidences show that the kingdom of Magadha extended upto Varanasi in the west. The suburbs of the valley of Śoṇa and the spurs of the Vindhyan forest also appear to have been included in it.[4]

On the other hand, the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho* bears out Yaśovarman's sway at least upto Ayodhya in the east.[5] Thus the eastern limit of his kingdom was roughly coterminus with the western boundary of the dominions of the Magadha king. It has also been pointed out earlier[6] that Magadha was the most powerful state in eastern India; and Yaśovarman, therefore, thought of measuring his strength with his strongest eastern rival. Does the evidence of the Deo-Barṇārk inscription referred to above, indicate that Jīvitagupta was advancing towards the

1. *HK*, p. 197.
2. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 166.
3. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 215.
4. *GP*, 136.
5. Yaśovarman paid a visit to Ayodhya and raised there a shrine (*GV*, vv. 507-508).
6. See chapter II, under 'Conquest of Magadha'.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kingdom of Kanauj which provoked Yaśovarman to mount a counter attack?

However, when these fairly matching rival armies first met on the battle-field in the Vindhyan region, Yaśovarman appears to have achieved some success although his victory was apparently indecisive. And this perhaps has been exaggerated by Vākpati when he says that the king of Magadha fled from the battle-field merely at the sight of the movements of Yaśovarman's army. After a few months, the king of Magadha seems to have reinforced his ranks by the support of his allies and hazarded a second encounter which ended in the complete victory of Yaśovarman who wrested the kingdom of his rival.

The conquest and annexation of the kingdom of Magadha is attested by the Nālandā stone inscription as well as by the existence of a town named Yaśovarmapura founded by Yaśovarman. Yaśovarmapura has been identified by Cunningham with the modern town of Bihar,[1] and by Kielhorn with Ghosrāwa.[2] Yaśovarman might have founded this city to commemorate his eastern conquests.[3]

Identification of the King of Magadha

C.V. Vaidya[4] and K.P. Jayaswal[5] identify the king of Magadha with Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty. According to R.G. Basak, "we cannot, however, be sure that it was not Viṣṇugupta."[6] H.C. Ray is inclined to identify him with a Śaila prince mentioned in the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II. He adds, "it is significant that the Śaila prince Śrīvardhana, who is probably not far removed from the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, is called the lord of the Vindhya, the very moun-

1. *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 135-136.
2. *IA*, Vol. XVII (1888), p. 309.
3. Lalitāditya laid the foundation of a city named Suniścitapura at the place where he resolved to go on conquests (*RT*, IV, 183). According to Pires, Yaśovarmapura might have been the second capital of Yaśovarman (*Maukharis*, p. 143).
4. *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 329.
5. *IHI*, pp. 68-69.
6. *HNEI*, p. 260.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tain not far from which the armies of Yaśovarman met with him."[1]

These identifications are untenable. Devagupta and his son Viṣṇugupta ruled before the accession of Yaśovarman.[2] As regards Śrīvardhana, he is described as the ruler of the Vindhyan region, whereas the enemy of Yaśovarman was the king of Magadha. The Vindhyan region was only the field of their battle. Secondly, the dates of Śrīvardhana are not known for certain.

R.D. Banerji,[3] R.C. Majumdar,[4] R.S. Tripathi,[5] B.P. Sinha[6] and E.A. Pires[7] have rightly identified the king of Magadha with Jīvitagupta II. Jīvitagupta II was certainly a contemporary of Yaśovarman and his (Jīvitagupta's) kingdom seems to have extended upto Varanasi in the west. He possessed a powerful army and is stated to have achieved some success. These facts when considered with the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho* referred to above, strongly support the identification of the Magadha monarch with Jīvitagupta II.

Date of the Battle

This battle might have taken place about the middle of the third decade of the 8th century. For Hui-ch'ao who visited Kanauj in c. 723-24 A.D., states that "the Central Indian king himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with (other) Indian rulers and won most, searched for opportunities to expand his authority, but not yet achieved the glory of the

1. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 277.
2. According to B.P. Sinha, Devagupta ruled from c. 675 A.D. to 695 A.D., and Viṣṇugupta from c. 695 A.D. to 715 A.D. (*DKM*, pp. 304, 309, 310). Yaśovarman's accession, however, took place in c. 720 A.D. See chapter III, part I, under 'Reign-period of Yaśovarman'.
3. *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 3.
4. Majumdar holds that Jīvitagupta II was defeated either by Yaśovarman or by the Gauḍa king (*CA*, p. 128).
5. *HK*, p. 198.
6. *DKM*, p. 312.
7. Pires, however, identifies the Magadhan king either with Jīvitagupta II or with his son (*Maukharis*, p. 158). But Jīvitagupta II is so far the last known king of the Later Gupta Dynasty. Hence the possibility of his son being the king defeated by Yaśovarman, is ruled out.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

World Conquest."[1] Thus Yaśovarman was actively engaged in his conquering expeditions at the time of Hui-ch'ao's visit to his kingdom in c. 723-24 A.D.

We have placed the accession of the Kanauj king in c. 720 A.D., and he should have started on his *digvijaya* only after strengthening his position at home, which might have taken about 3 or 4 years. The conquest of Magadha was the first in his *digvijaya* and that it was achieved after a more or less protracted battle involving about one year's time. Therefore, it may reasonably be placed about 725 A.D.[2]

Victory over Vaṅga

As has been discussed in the second chapter, the history of Vaṅga in the latter half of the 7th and in the first part of the 8th centuries is shrouded in confusion and obscurity. Therefore, it is very difficult to identify the king of Vaṅga whom Yaśovarman had defeated. H.C. Ray[3] and R.C. Majumdar[4] take him to be a Khaḍga ruler, and R.G. Basak[5] suggests his identification with Rājarājabhaṭa of that family. The main difficulty in accepting this identification is the unsettled chronology of the Khaḍga rulers. According to Majumdar,[6] they ruled between 650 and 700 A.D., while Basak[7] places them between c. 650 and 750 A.D. We cannot be certain as to which view is correct. Similar uncertainties are met with in the history of the feudatory rulers referred to in the Tippera copper plate of *sāmanta* Lokanātha,[8] as has been already discussed in chapter II.

According to Tāranātha, Lalitacandra, the last king of the Candra dynasty, ruled over Vaṅga in the first quarter of the

1. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 167.
2. B.P. Sinha (*DKM*, p. 319) also suggests this date. Jan Yun-hua places it between 726 and 731 A.C. (*JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 167) and Pires in 732 A.D. (*Maukharis*, p. 158).
3. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 277.
4. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 89.
5. *HNEI*, p. 260.
6. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 87.
7. *HNEI*, pp. 252-253.
8. For this inscription, see *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 301-315.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8th century.[1] If this is true, then Lalitacandra may have been the king of Vaṅga whom Yaśovarman defeated. But it is more probable that the Kanauj king invaded this state in the period of anarchy and confusion, following the death of Lalitacandra.[2] However, in the present state of our knowledge, the identification of the Vaṅga ruler should be left uncertain.

Rout of the Kingdom of Gauḍa

There is much controversy over the independent status of the kingdom of Gauḍa and identification of its ruler. According to S.K. Aiyangar,[3] Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa was also the ruler of Gauḍa who was killed by Yaśovarman. S.P. Pandit[4] identifies the Gauḍa ruler with that of Magadha. C.V. Vaidya,[5] H.C. Ray,[6] R.S. Tripathi[7] and B.P. Sinha[8] suggest that Gauḍa may have formed part of the kingdom of Magadha during that period. R.C. Majumdar on the contrary contends that "if both Magadha and Gauḍa were under the same ruler, it was the ruler of Gauḍa who had Magadha under his sway, rather than *vice versa*. For, otherwise, there is no justification for the name *Gauḍavaho*."[9]

None of these views appears to be convincing. As regards the identification of the Gauḍa ruler with Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa, his invasion of Gauḍa took place later than that of

1. See *HB*, Vol. I, p. 89.
2. Tāranātha states that in this period, "No king ruled over Gauḍa or Vaṅga, and every Kṣatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa and Merchant was a king in his own house, but there was no king ruling over the country", quoted in *HB*, Vol. I, p. 183. And this anarchic condition has been correctly described by the term *mātsya-nyāya* in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla (Pandey, *Literary and Historical Inscriptions*, p. 225).
3. *AISIHC*, Vol. I, p. 323.
4. *GV*, Introduction, pp. XLII, XLIV. Also see *PHAI*, pp. 611-613, note 4.
5. *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 328.
6. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 277.
7. *HK*, p. 198.
8. *DM*, p. 315.
9. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 95.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Yaśovarman.[1] Besides, there is no evidence to show that this Harṣadeva had any encounter with the Kanauj king, and that he was killed by Yaśovarman. And the title of Vākpati's poem points towards the fact that the unfortunate king had his head-quarters in the Gauḍa-*deśa*, not in Kāmarūpa.

The view that Gauḍa was subject to Magadha or *vice versa*, is also not supported by any source. This surmise seems to have been based on the fact that the defeat and death of the Magadha monarch is described in the six verses[2] of the *Gauḍavaho*, whereas that of the Gauḍa king is referred to in one couplet[3] only. Moreover, the commentator Haripāla also identifies the Gauḍa ruler with that of Magadha.[4] But we have already concluded that the present form of the *Gauḍavaho* is incomplete. Therefore, the scanty treatment given to Yaśovarman's triumph over the Gauḍa ruler is understandable. Otherwise, even the six verses which are devoted to the description of the killing of the king of Magadha, cannot justify the title of the poem.[5]

Gauḍa like Magadha was an independent state. The Jaina works inform us that Dharma was the ruler of the Gauḍa-*deśa* having his headquarters at Lakṣṇāvatī. He was defeated and killed on the battle-field by the mighty king Yaśovarman and his kingdom was annexed by the latter. And Vākpati, the court-poet of king Dharma, was put in prison by the victor.[6]

1. According to R.D. Banerji Harṣadeva's invasion most probably "closely followed upon the heels of that of Kanauj, or we may one day be surprised to learn that both the armies (*i.e.*, of Yaśovarman and Harṣadeva) invaded Bengal jointly (*Pālas of Bengal*, p. 3). R.G. Basak (*HNEI*, p. 296) holds that this Harṣa (Harṣadeva) conquered Gauḍa after the raid of Yaśovarman and the march of Lalitāditya over the eastern countries. B.P. Sinha also holds a similar view (*DKM*, p. 316).
2. *GV*, vv. 414-417, 696-697.
3. *Ibid.*, 1194.
4. . . . *Magadhanātho Gauḍādhipo* on verse 844.
5. See chapter I under 'Justification of the title *Gauḍavaho*'
6. *Yaśovarmanṛpo Dharmamanyadā cābhyaṣeṇayat*
   Tadā Vākpatirājaścabande tena niveśitaḥ
   Kāvyaṁ Gauḍavadhaṁ kṛtvā tasmācca svamamocayat (*PC*, XI, vv. 463-464; *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 321)
   Gauḍa-deśāntargat-Lakṣṇāvati-nāmnaḥ puro (or *nagaryā*), *tatra* . . . . .

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

According to G.C. Choudhury,[1] this Dharma may have been one of the predecessors of the Pāla king Dharmapāla whose names are given in the Tibetan works. On the basis of the Tibetan sources, Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana places Gopāla (660-705 A.D.), Devapāla (705-753 A.D.) and Rasapāla (753-765 A.D.) before Dharmapāla.[2] This would make Devapāla a contemporary of Yaśovarman. But later researches and discoveries have considerably changed the genealogical and chronological position of the Pāla rulers. And according to generally agreed view, even the reign of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, commenced during the closing years of Yaśovarman's rule.[3] There is no ground for identifying king Dharma of the Jaina works with any predecessor of Dharmapāla referred to in the Tibetan records. Thus in our opinion Dharma was the king of Gauḍa who met his disastrous defeat at the hands of Yaśovarman, but his dynasty cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

Yaśovarman's March through Maru-deśa

This vast desert land was divided into several small principalities. Among these, the Pratihāras of Mandor, the Mauryas of Chitor and the Guhilas of Mewar were comparatively prominent. But the limits of their kingdoms are not precisely known. Vākpati merely vaguely refers to Yaśovarman's march through some region of Marwar. There is no indication, far less mention of any fight or conquest. It has been suggested that Nāgabhaṭa I was a feudatory of Yaśovarman, and that he had cooperated with his overlord in his victorious battle

Dharmo nāma rājā (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 30). *Yaśodharmanāmnā balavatā bhūpena Lakṣṇāvatīmetya raṇe Dharma-nṛpo vyāpāditaḥ rājyamjagrhe Vākpatirapi bandīkṛtaḥ* (*Ibid.*, p. 37). Here the Jaina writer has wrongly written Yaśodharmā instead of Yaśovarmā. But at other places, he correctly writes Yaśovarmā (see *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28). And the reference to Vākpati clearly shows that Yaśovarman is meant.

1. *PHNI*, p. 20.
2. *History of Indian Logic*, Appendix D, p. 517.
3. Gopāla ascended the throne in c. 750 A.D. or slightly earlier (*HB*, Vol. I, p. 70; *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 44). And the reign of Yaśovarman terminated sometime between 749 and 753 A.D., as we have discussed in part I of the present chapter.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

against the Arabs. Therefore, Yaśovarman freely marched through Maru-*deśa* which was under the sway of the Pratihāras who did not resist him.[1]

This conjecture is not convincing. In the first place, the extent of the dominions of the Pratihāras in Marwar is not definitely known. Secondly, it is also not possible to locate the territory through which Yaśovarman traversed. Thirdly, neither Nāgabhaṭa I joining hands with Yaśovarman against the Arab invaders, nor his position as a feudatory of the Kanauj king is known from any source whatsoever.

Keeping in view the state of political disintegration of Marwar in the age under review, it was not difficult for a powerful potentate like Yaśovarman to make a triumphant march through Marwar or any part of Rajputana, and defeat its small as well as effete kingdoms. And it is also hard to believe that he should have missed the opportunity of establishing his sway over this region. But if he really conquered one or more kingdoms in Marwar, its non-mention by his court-poet is equally difficult to explain. However, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, Yaśovarman may provisionally be believed to have extended the western limit of his kingdom upto the borders of Rajputana; and probably also conquered its certain parts.

Yaśovarman's Fight with the Pārasīkas

The Pārasīkas of the *Gauḍavaho* represent the Arab invaders.[2] Vākpati describes Yaśovarman's battle with the Pārasīkas immediately after referring to the submission of a southern king to him somewhere in or near the southern parts of the Western Ghats.[3] This is obviously an erroneous account, for

1. *KURJ*, Vol. I, No. I, March, 1967, pp. 10-12.
2. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, identifies them with the Iranians connected with Sassanian dynasty, and locates their settlement at Sanjan in the Thana District of Maharashtra (*ABORI*, Vol. VIII, p. 140). This view is untenable. The Pārasīkas of Sanjan were hardly any power to reckon with and they cannot be believed to have attracted the attention of the Kanauj king who is mentioned to have had a protracted battle with them. See also *CA*, p. 130; *AIHC*, pp. 105-106.
3. Vākpati describes Yaśovarman's battle with the Pārasīkas immediately after mentioning his movements in the region round Malaya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Arabs could not move beyond Nausārī in Lāṭa where their bid to reach the Dakṣiṇāpatha was foiled by Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya.[1] Thus the question of Yaśovarman's encounter with them anywhere in the Deccan or south India does not arise.

The invasions of the Arabs in this period were confined to parts of Rajputana, Gujarat and central India. They are also stated to have advanced upto Kīra *i.e.*, Kāngrā in east Punjab.[2] And Yaśovarman may have fought with them somewhere in western or central India.[3] It is significant to mark that Vākpati gives special treatment to this battle and tells us that his patron could defeat the Pārasīkas after a tough and protracted battle.[4] This encounter might have taken place either during the governorship of Junaid or in the time of one of his weak successors. But there was no territorial gain to the Kanauj king as a result of this victory.[5]

Did Yaśovarman conquer Deccan and South India?

Vākpati would have us believe that his patron made a victorious march upto the Malaya mountains in the south

mountains without furnishing any other details of the intermittent journey (*GV*, vv. 423, 431-439).

1. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 141.
2. Both Muhammad ibn-Kāsim and Junaid are stated to have sent their contingents upto Kīra (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 124, 125). Some scholars, however, locate Kīra in or near Cutch (*Ibid.*, p. 391).
3. As has been mentioned in chapter II, under 'Sind', the raids of the Arabs during this period were mainly confined to parts of Rajputana, Gujarat and central India.
4. No other encounter has been described by Vākpati in such a graphic and realistic manner. Even the defeat and death of the Magadha monarch is mentioned only in six verses (*GV*, vv. 354, 414-418), whereas Yaśovarman's fight with the Pārasīkas is narrated in nine couplets (*Ibid.*, vv. 431-39).
5. The Arabs failed to annex any state in western or central India even in the time of Junaid; their successful raids merely shook and devastated a few small principalities. And after Junaid, the Arab sway even in Sind became so much precarious that the Arabs had to build a town named Muhfūza meaning 'guarded' where they could get refuge against the mounting danger of the revolting Indian rulers (*HS*, Vol. III, pp. 40-41).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

following the coastal route, and returned through the western Deccan. There is no inherent improbability in Yaśovarman's going to south India in the course of his conquering expeditions. But the description of his movements in these regions is rather unrealistic and conventional. Moreover, the political condition of the Deccan and south India, unlike that of north India, was stable and strong. In the western Deccan, the contemporary Cāḷukya rulers Vijayāditya (c. 696-733 A.D.) and Vikramāditya (c. 733-34-744 A.D.)[1] were very powerful. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, a feudatory of the western Cāḷukyas, was rapidly increasing his power.[2] In the eastern Deccan, the Cāḷukyas of Vengī under Viṣṇuvardhana III (c. 709-746 A.D.) were also strong.[3]

As regards south India *i.e.*, the country south of the Krishṇā and the Tungabhadrā, the Pallavas of Kāñcī under Nandivarman II (c. 730-796 A.D.),[4] the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā under Koccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (c. 710-740 A.D.) and Māravarman Rājasimha (c. 740-765 A.D.),[5] were dominant powers. Another notable south Indian dynasty was that of the western Gangas of Mysore; and the Ganga king whose reign period coincided with that of Yaśovarman was Śrīpuruṣa (c. 725-788 A.D.).[6] Thus the Kanauj king must have faced several tough resistances on his way had he really marched into the Deccan and south India. But there is no indication of any confrontation in any part of this vast territory except a very casual reference to the submission of a ruler of the southern quarter to Yaśovarman. It may also be pointed out that the inscriptions of the kings of the Deccan and south India which generally recorded almost all important historical events, and were very particular in mentioning their encounters with the north Indian rulers, show complete unawareness of any fight in Yaśovarman's reign. In

1. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 227, 230; *CA*, pp. 246-247.
2. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 36 ff.
3. *CA*, pp. 253-254; D.C. Ganguly, *Eastern Cālukyas*, pp. 34 ff.
4. *CA*, p. 283. Also see K.A.N. Sastri, *History of South India*, pp. 154, 157. R. Gopalan places his reign between c. 710-775 A.D. (*History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī*, p. 119) and G.J. Dubreuil between c. 727 and 789 A.D. (*Pallavas*, p. 65).
5. *CA*, p. 41; K.A.N. Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 41.
6. *CA*, p. 270.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

view of these facts Vākpati's account of his patron's conquests in the Deccan and south India seems rather incredible, and he appears to have added these victories only to complete the limit of a universal conqueror in the south.

The Rāyagaḍ plates[1] of the reign of Vijayāditya of 703 A.D. mention a northern expedition led by Cāḷukya Vinayāditya in which his son Vijayāditya played a prominent part. It is repeated in almost all the subsequent records of the Cāḷukya rulers. Vinayāditya is stated to have procured for himself all the royal insignia including '*pālidhvaja*' and others by defeating the 'lord of the entire northern India'. The rest part of the expedition is associated with his son Vijayāditya. We are told that when Vinayāditya was desirous of conquering the north, Vijayāditya took a leading part in all fighting . . . and he delivered to his father the images of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā besides the *pālidhvaja* banner[2] etc.

According to R.C. Majumdar, Yaśovarman was the paramount ruler of northern India who was defeated by Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya. He holds that "the reference to Gaṅgā-Yamunā (symbols) shows that the battle probably took place in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab. Considering the locality of the battle and the designation of the defeated king, it is not unreasonable to identify him with Yaśovarman."[3] C.V. Vaidya supports this identification.[4] We are also informed that Vijayāditya was captured in one of his northern campaigns.[5] According to Buddha Prakash, this victory (of the northern king Yaśovarman) formed the nucleus of the hyperbolic account of his penetration in the south upto the place where Bāli taking Rāvaṇa under his armpit roamed.[6] Adris Banerji identifies the southern king with a Śailodbhava ruler.[7]

The identification of the paramount sovereign of entire northern India with Yaśovarman is contradicted by the dates now generally assigned to his reign. The victory of the Cāḷukya

1. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 203; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 202.
3. *CA*, p. 130.
4. *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 336-337.
5. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 129.
6. *AIHC*, p. 105.
7. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 211.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

rulers over the king of north India took place between 694 and 696 A.D.[1] and Yaśovarman's accession to the throne as has been discussed earlier,[2] should be placed in 720 A.D. Secondly, the account of the *Gauḍavaho* shows that Yaśovarman subdued the king of southern quarter somewhere in south India. But according to the Cāḷukya inscriptions, Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya had penetrated far into north India, and that their battle with the north Indian ruler took place in the Doab of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The identification of the ruler of south vanquished by Yaśovarman, with a Śailodbhava king is also not supported by any evidence.

Extent of Yaśovarman's Dominions

Vākpati presents Yaśovarman as a conqueror of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* stretching from the Himalayan foot-hills in the north, to the Malaya mountains in the south; and from the Bay of Bengal in the east upto Kathiāwār in the west. Hui-ch'ao also states that the territory of the central Indian king *viz.* Yaśovarman was 'very broad'.[3] According to Kalhaṇa, the *Kanyakubjorvī i.e.*, the kingdom of Kanauj in the time of Yaśovarman extended from the Yamunā to the Kālikā or Kālīnadī[4] which flows near Kanauj.[5] As for the views of modern scholars, Adris Banerji holds that the *Antarvedī* or the Doab of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā was the true extent of his kingdom at the time of his accession.[6] According to S.K. Aiyangar, Yaśovarman "must have been the one ruler over the whole territory comprised in the kingdom of Kanauj as under Harṣa, the kingdom of Magadha and the province of Tīrabhukti leaving Puṇḍra farther east."[7] None of these observations is fully correct.

In the east, the conquests of the kingdoms of Magadha, Gauḍa and Vaṅga made Yaśovarman the lord of almost entire

1. *CA*. p. 130.
2. See chapter III, part I, under 'Reign period of Yaśovarman'.
3. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165.
4. *RT*, IV, 145.
5. *GD*, p. 85.
6. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 209.
7. *AISIHC*, Vol. I, p. 331.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bihar and Bengal. In the west, it might have extended upto the borders of Rajputana and probably comprised its certain parts. As regards Yaśovarman's march upto Dwarka, it is not mentioned in all the *MSS.* of the *Gauḍavaho*.[1] Moreover, none of the numerous records of the ruling powers of Gujarat *viz.* the Cāḷukyas of Lāṭa, the Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī, the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Saindhavas of Bhūmilikā, contains any reference to Yaśovarman's attack on any part of Gujarat. Thus the Kanauj king probably did not go beyond Marwar in the west.

The northern and north-western limit of his kingdom may be determined on the basis of the evidence gathered from the *Gauḍavaho*, the Nālandā inscription and the observations of Hui-ch'ao. The Nālandā record informs us that Yaśovarman's Turkish minister Tikina was *udīcīpati*.[2] *Udīcīpati* has been variously interpreted as the "lord of the north",[3] "incharge of the northern regions",[4] "custodian of the northern routes of Yaśovarman's empire",[5] "marshal of the northern frontier",[6] "king of North-Western Frontier Province"[7] and "the brave ruler of the north".[8] Udīcī denoted either the northern quarter[9] or one of the five[10] or seven[11] divisions of India, lying to the north and west of the river Saraswatī.[12] In some *Purāṇas*, it represents the territory lying between the east Punjab and the

1. Couplet Nos. 466-470 of the *Gauḍavaho* which refer to Yaśovarman's march upto Dwarka, are found in its three *MSS.*, but these verses have, however, been ignored by the commentator Haripāla (see *GV*, Introduction, supplementary notes, pp. CCXXXIII-XXXIV).
2. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 41.
4. *AIHC*, p. 106.
5. Pires, *Maukharis*, p. 145.
6. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 211.
7. Pandey, *Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, p. 56.
8. *ASIAR*, for 1925-26, p. 158.
9. *RV*, IV, vv. 66-71; *Meghaduta*, 57; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara Kāṇḍa, I, 6; Sörenson, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 687; *HC*, I, verse 7.
10. These are Madhyadeśa, Udīcya, Prācya, Pratīcya and Aparānta (*KM*, p. 93; *HGAI*, p. 12).
11. *GP*, p. 131.
12. *Apte's Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Oxus,[1] while in others,[2] the Udīcyadeśa includes Madra (central Punjab),[3] Gandhāra, Lampaka or Lambaka (Lamghan) and Balkh (Bactria).

In the present context, the meaning and significance of the term *Udīcīpati* can be understood properly only in view of the evidence of other sources regarding the limit of Yaśovarman's kingdom in the north and north-west. According to the *Gauḍavaho*, Yaśovarman after crossing the Mandara mountain, triumphantly marched into Uttaradiśā (*Yakṣādhipalakṣitām*), where his valour became irresistible.[4] Besides, certain coins of Indo-Scythian or Little Kuṣāṇa type, bearing the name Yaśovarman have been found in west Punjab and Kashmir.[5] But the evidence of these sources is dubious.[6] And despite V.A. Smith's assertion to the contrary,[7] there is no credible testimony to confirm Yaśovarman's victorious march upto the Himalayas in the north. Nor can his sway over the North Western Frontier territory be proved. For, the Kārkoṭa kings ruled not only over Kashmir valley, but also over parts of western and north-western Punjab, from the time of Durlabhavardhana,[8] the founder of the dynasty. As regards Kabul and Zabul, they

1. This territorial horizon of *udīcī* is given in the *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* (Vide *GAMI*, p. 37, note 5).
2. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, 1.99; *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 1, 55.77; A.B.L. Awasthi, *Garuḍa Purāṇa—Eka Sāṁskritic Adhyayana*, pp. 32-33.
3. *JRASB*, (N.S.), Vol. XVIII, p. 257; *GD*, p. 116; *HGAI*, p. 105.
4. *GV*, vv. 510-511.
5. *PASB*, 1888, p. 180; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 784-785; *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 266; *ASIAR*, Vol. II, 1871, pp. 159-160.
6. See *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 549-552 and 1909, pp. 105-108, *HK*, pp. 207-208. V.A. Smith also suggested that these coins might have been struck by an unrecorded Rājā of Punjab or Kashmir in the 6th or 7th century A.D. (*Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 266). But later on, he attributed them to Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*JRAS*, 1908, pp. 784-785).
7. Smith observes "There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king occupying at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arms eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmada and northwards to the foot of the mountains" (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 779).
8. *CA*, p. 132, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 112.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

were governed by the Turki Shāhi kings,[1] and Sind was under the sway of the Arabs.[2]

In view of this political condition, Yaśovarman can hardly be believed to have extended his dominions beyond east Punjab. This inference finds support from the statement of Hui-ch'ao who visited Jālandhara and several other states in 723-24 A.D. He tells us that the state of Jālandhara was the bone of contention between the kings of Kashmir and Kanauj;[3] and Kalhaṇa adds that it was ultimately annexed by Lalitāditya.[4]

The account of the *Gauḍavaho*, too, bears out Yaśovarman's suzerainty over Śrīkaṇṭha and Kurukshetra,[5] but not beyond these territories; and his advance upto the Himalayas seems to have been added only to complete the conventional limit of a *cakravarti* conqueror in that direction.[6]

1. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 62 ff, *CA*, pp. 164-165, 167-168, D.B. Pandey, *Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, pp. 55 ff.
2. *HS*, Vol. III, pp. 33-34; *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7.
3. Jan Yun-hua in *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 169.
4. Kalhaṇa records that Lalitāditya had given Jālandhara, Lohara and other territories to his attendants (*RT*, IV, 177).
5. *GV*, vv. 484-491. Also see chapter III, part III under 'Yaśovarman's Battle with Lalitāditya'.
6. The literary works and sometimes even the inscriptions describing the *digvijayas* of kings, almost invariably present them as the conquerors of the entire country from the Himalayas in the north to Malaya or Kanyākumārī in the south, and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian sea in the west. (For references see D.C. Sircar's *GAMI*, pp. 1-16.) But perhaps no ruler, not even the great Aśoka could become a *cakravarti* emperor in the true sense of the term.

   As regards Vākpati's account of Yaśovarman's victorious advance upto the Himalayas, it is very vague and rather illogical. For the Kanauj king is first mentioned to have built a temple at Ayodhyā (Hariścandranagarī), and next he was present on the Mandara mountain wherefrom he proceeded to the northern quarter where his *pratāpa* became unbearable (*GV*, vv. 508-512). Vākpati does not furnish any detail of his patron's march from Ayodhyā upto the distant Mandara and the Himalayas. Had Yaśovarman really reached the Himalayan region in the course of his military expeditions, his clash with Lalitāditya of Kashmir was inevitable. His friendly alliance with the Kashmir king cannot explain it. However, the *Gauḍavaho* contains no hint of Yaśovarman's encounter with Lalitāditya in this context. Thus the very nature of Vākpati's description of his patron's conquests in the northern quarter, makes it doubtful. And it should be pointed out here

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

It is, however, very difficult to determine the southern limit of Yaśovarman's kingdom. Vākpati would have us believe that his patron not only overran the Deccan, but also reached upto the southern portions of the Western Ghats. But this information as has heen discussed earlier, cannot be accepted. The evidence of the Jaina works clearly shows that Gwalior was included in Yaśovarman's kingdom.[1] How far it extended beyond it, is not known. Yaśovarman may be believed to have advanced upto the Narmadā, but his sway in central India cannot precisely be ascertained.[2]

The above analysis enables us to infer that Yaśovarman's dominions definitely extended upto the Bay of Bengal in the east. The borders of Rajputana or its certain parts appear to have formed its western boundary. In the north-west, it comprised Thaneswar, the valley of Yamunā and also probably certain territories beyond it. As regards the southern limit of Yaśovarman's kingdom, it cannot be determined with certainty. However, the state of Gwalior and perhaps some other regions south of it may be taken to have been included in it.

III. YAŚOVARMAN'S BATTLE WITH LALITĀDITYA AND ITS DATE

Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya earlier made an alliance probably to make a common cause against the Tibetans and the Arabs.[3] This alliance was maintained at least upto 736

that his account of Yaśovarman's victories over the kings of Magadha (*Ibid.*, vv. 414-417 and 696-697), Vaṅga (*Ibid.*, vv. 419-420) and Pārasīkas (*Ibid.*, vv. 431-439) which are corroborated from other sources also, directly or indirectly, is much more clear and realistic in nature than that of his conquests of the northern regions.

1. *Kanyakubjadeśe Gopālagiridurganagare Yaśovarmanṛpateḥ . . .* (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 27). Gopalgiri is obviously Gwālior.
2. The records of the Tiang Dynasty (see *RT*, Part I, Introduction, p. 89) and Hui-Ch'ao (*JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 165) describe Yaśovarman as the king of central India. But the central India in these sources generally denotes the Madhyadeśa in a general sense. See also *JRAS*, 1908, p. 777, note 1.
3. *CA*, p. 130. P. C. Bagchi, however, holds that Yaśovarman had appealed to the Chinese emperor for intervention in his dispute with Kashmir (*Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71; *CA*, p. 130, note 4). But the emperor of a distant country would not have been approached for such an interference.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A.D.[1] Later on when both aspired for the hegemony of northern India, the clash of ambitions transformed their friendly alliance into mutual hostilities.

Causes of the Clash

After the completion of his *digvijaya*, Yaśovarman's power and prestige increased immensely. And this inevitably evoked the jealousy and concern of Lalitāditya, who had an unbridled military dash and limitless imperial ambition.[2] Vākpati's account of his patron's stay at Śrīkaṇṭha and Kurukshetra[3] in the course of his military expeditions, shows that the region was included in his dominions. Lalitāditya seems to have inherited parts of western and north-western Punjab from his predecessors,[4] besides the valley proper. And Hui-ch'ao tells us that the state of Jālandhara was a bone of contention between the rulers of Kanauj and Kashmir.[5] Thus when both the monarchs tried to expand their dominions towards the river Yamunā, their confrontation became inevitable. The suggestion

1. Lalitāditya had sent his minister to the Chinese court in 736 A.D. This minister described Yaśovarman as an ally of his master (*RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89). The contention of R.S. Tripathi that Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya "became friends after a trial of strength" (*HK*, p. 204, note 1) is untenable.
2. Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya say, 'For rivers which have come out of their origin, the ocean is the limit, but there is no limit for conquerors (*RT*, IV, 343). Kalhaṇa adds that Lalitāditya was beyond the conception of Fate, which creates only rulers of limited territories' (*Ibid.*, IV, 126) and that he spent almost his entire life in military expeditions (*Ibid.*, IV, 131). Bhavabhūti also remarks that a powerful and ambitious person cannot ignore the expansion of his rival's fame (*URC*, VI, 14).
3. Yaśovarman is stated to have stayed at Śrīkaṇṭha and Kurukshetra for quite a long time during his *digvijaya*. He visited at Kurukshetra the spots associated with the Mahābhārata war and recreated himself by water-sports in the company of ladies (*GV*, vv. 485-494). There is no indication of any conquest or military operation in this context. Such a long stay marked by recreations could have been possible in Yaśovarman's own territory.
4. See Beal, Vol. II, pp. 179, 185, 188, 200; *CA*, p. 132.
5. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 169; *Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 177 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that the Turkish rulers of the north-west precipitated the showdown between Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya,[1] has nothing to commend it.

Account of the Battle

Kalhaṇa gives the following account of this battle:

'In the city of Gādhipura *i.e.*, Kanauj, Lalitāditya made the warriors (of Yaśovarman) bend their backs in terror;[2] and causing the mobile army of mountain-like Yaśovarman (*Yaśovarmādri*) to wither in a moment (*kṣaṇāt-kurvanviśoṣaṇam*), Lalitāditya attained the resplendence of the sun. The ruler of Kanyakubja was wise enough to turn his back and pay homage to the fiercely shining Lalitāditya.'[3] We are further told that a treaty of peace was concluded between the two, the text of which was drafted as follows:

"This is the treaty of peace . . . concluded between Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya."[4] In this draft, the precedence of Yaśovarman's name over that of Lalitāditya was not tolerated by the latter's foreign minister Mitraśarman, who noticed in it the diplomatic legerdemain of the "illustrious Yaśovarman".[5] Consequently, hostilities were renewed notwithstanding the dislike of the generals of Lalitāditya, "who were uneasy at the prolonged duration of war."[6] In the second confrontation, the Kashmir king is stated to have uprooted Yaśovarman[7] (*samūlamudapāṭayat*), who had been served by Vākpatirāja, Bhavabhūti and others, but was now himself reduced to the position of a bard to eulogise the virtues of Lalitāditya.[8] "The territory of Kanyakubja extending from the bank of the Yamunā to that of Kālikā was like a courtyard of (Lalitāditya's) residence, under

1. *AIHC*, pp. 108-109.
2. *RT*, IV, 133.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 134-185.
4. *So bhūtsandhir-Yaśovarmā-Lalitāditya-yoriti* (*Ibid.*, IV, 138).
5. *Śrī Yaśovarmaṇaḥ sandhau . . . . nayaṁ niyamanā lekhe* (*Ibid.*, IV, 137).
6. *Sudīrghavigrahāśāntaiḥ-senānībhirsūyitām* (*Ibid.*, IV, 139).
7. *Ibid.*, IV, 140.
8. *Ibid.*, IV, 144.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

his subjection."[1] We are also informed that the land of Kanyakubja with its villages was granted by Lalitāditya to Lord Āditya enshrined at Lalitapura.[2]

Assessment of the Account

It is far from safe to accept Kalhaṇa's account at its face value, for it has a "strange blend of fact and fancy."[3] It is interesting to note that Kalhaṇa compares Yaśovarman to a mountain (*Yaśovarmādri*) and uses for him the honorific prefix *śrī i.e.*, 'illustrious'. Besides, in the draft of the peace treaty, Lalitāditya's name followed that of Yaśovarman. And according to Hui-ch'ao, the king of central India (*viz.*, Yaśovarman) possessed nine hundred elephants whereas the Kashmir king (*viz.*, Lalitāditya) had only three hundred.[4] These facts point to the prominence and great prowess of Yaśovarman.

As regards Lalitāditya, we are informed that his victories had left a deep impression on posterity and that they were annually celebrated at least till about the middle of the 12th century A.D.[5] when Kalhaṇa completed the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. And as usually happens the achievements of Lalitāditya must have been coloured and exaggerated by popular imagination during the four centuries or so that intervened between Kalhaṇa and the events of the reign of the Kashmir king. This is illustrated by the stories of Lalitāditya's miraculous powers recorded by Kalhaṇa. We are told that he could even produce water in an arid desert by striking the sands with the point of his sword[6] and the divine fruit *Kapittha* could be brought to him from heaven at his mere behest.[7] Thus "manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs . . . mixed up with historical reminiscences are reproduced without a mark of doubt or critical misgiving."[8]

1. *RT*, IV, 145.
2. *Sagrāmān-Kanyakubjorvīmabhimā-norjitodadau* (*Ibid.*, IV, 187).
3. Pires, *Maukharis*, p. 140. Also see *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 88.
4. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 169.
5. Kaul, *History of Kashmir*, p. 114.
6. *RT*, IV, vv. 294-301.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 219-220.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 28.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Some statements of Kalhaṇa lack clarity. He tells us, for instance, that Lalitāditya uprooted Yaśovarman (*samūlamuda-pāṭayat*). It is difficult to be definite about the meaning of 'uprooted'. Some take it to mean that Yaśovarman was killed;[1] according to others, he was only defeated and deprived of sovereignty.[2] Kalhaṇa's account also suffers from self-contradictions. For example, he says that Yaśovarman being made to wither in a moment, was wise enough to show his back to his victor Lalitāditya. It indicates that he thoughtfully avoided the encounter and submitted without offering much resistance. But at another place Kalhaṇa contradicts himself by describing this battle as a protracted one (*sudīrgha-vigraha*).

Conclusion

A critical scrutiny of Kalhaṇa's account leads us to infer that when the rival armies first met on the battle-field, Yaśovarman stoutly resisted the invader. Hence the battle had to be prolonged to the extent of causing inquietude to Lalitāditya's generals. After a trial of strength, both the emperors appear to have thought it politic to conclude a treaty of peace. But the minister of the Kashmir king raised objections on the wordings of the draft of the treaty. And this gave a ground to Lalitāditya to renew hostilities. In the second battle, Yaśovarman was defeated but not killed. For Kalhaṇa subsequently tells us that Yaśovarman was reduced to the position of a bard to sing the glory of the victor Lalitāditya. The information of the Jaina works also bears out that he died a natural death between V.S. 807 and 811.[3]

Thus Yaśovarman definitely survived his defeat and acknowledged the suzerainty of Lalitāditya probably temporarily. When the Kashmir king went to far off regions for conquests in which he remained engaged almost throughout his reign, Yaśovarman may have ruled practically independently; and the only territorial gains to Lalitāditya appear to have

1. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 777.
2. *HK*, p. 203; *IHI*, p. 70; *CA*, p. 131.
3. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 314; *Prabandhakośa*, p. 27; *PC*, XI, vv. 28-29.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

been Jullundur, Kāngrā and Punch which he later gave to his attendants.[1] The cause of Yaśovarman's contretemps in the second confrontation is not known. We may hazard a conjecture that after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, Yaśovarman's forces might have reposed in fancied security. But being dissatisfied with the indecisive result of the battle, Lalitāditya probably mounted the second attack at a time when Yaśovarman expected it least. This may have caused confusion in the latter's ranks leading to his defeat. In the absence of corroborative evidence and the "Kanauj version", the extent of Yaśovarman's debacle cannot be ascertained more precisely. But the above analysis clearly shows that Lalitāditya's success against Yaśovarman has hitherto been generally much overrated by the historians.

Here the views of V.A. Smith, H. Goetz, H.H. Wilson and D.C. Sircar also deserve scrutiny. Smith observes, "If Vākpati can be believed when he affirms that his hero marched triumphantly defeating all enemies between the Narmadā and the Himalayas, can it be possible that Lalitāditya may have been for a time the subordinate ally of the king of Kanauj and (was) constrained to strike coins in his name?"[2] But he has expressed his inability to give convicing reasons in support of his supposition. Nor can it be endorsed by the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho*. Had Yaśovarman vanquished Lalitāditya, Vākpati must not have missed to mention such a significant achievement of his patron.

According to H. Goetz, "Yaśovarman had followed Lalitāditya to the East and South as a vassal." Vākpati "ignores the Kashmiris in the Deccan campaign completely, and veils Yaśovarman's visit to Lalitāditya's capital Parihāsapura." "Lalitāditya had made him (Yaśovarman) viceroy of most of his Indian dominions. Thus Yaśovarman though defeated and reduced to vassal status, practically occupied a more honoured and influential position than as an independent king of Kanauj."[3]

These observations are apparently untenable. There is no indication in the *Gauḍavaho*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or in any other

1. *RT*, IV, 177.
2. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 784.
3. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. XXVII, Part I, pp. 50-51.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

record that Yaśovarman accompanied Lalitāditya in his military expeditions.[1] And Vākpati's intention of concealing his patron's visit to Parihāsapura is also not found in the *Gauḍavaho*. Still more improbable is the contention that Yaśovarman's position became more honoured after his defeat, for this debacle had definitely impaired his imperial status.

According to H.H. Wilson, Yaśovarman fled away across the Jamunā and was heard of no more. D.C. Sircar contends that Lalitāditya seems to have appointed his minister Mitraśarmā, his viceroy at Kanauj after uprooting Yaśovarman.[2] These views are also wholly conjectural, without being supported by any evidence.

Date of the Battle: Jacobi's View and its Criticism

Hermann Jacobi fixed August 14, 733 A.D. as the date of Lalitāditya's invasion of Kanauj and also of the defeat of Yaśovarman.[3] This date has been accepted by R.G. Bhandarkar,[4] N.B. Utgikar,[5] R.S. Tripathi,[6] H. Goetz,[7] Jan Yun-hua[8] and others.[9] Verses 827-832 of the *Gauḍavaho* mention certain portentous events such as the solar and lunar eclipses, and neighing of horses etc. Jacobi bases his contention on the evidence of couplet nos. 829 and 832. Verse 829 refers to a solar eclipse which was, according to Jacobi's astronomical calculations, sighted at Kanauj on August 14, 733 A.D. He contends that this was also the date of Lalitāditya's attack on Kanauj. And in couplet 832, he seeks an allusion to the shaking of Yaśovarman's imperial position caused by his defeat at the hands of the Kashmir king.

1. *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 43.
2. *St.GAMI*, p. 234.
3. *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1888), Vol. II, pp. 67-68.
4. *MM*, Preface, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.
5. *GV*, supplementary notes, p. CCLVIII.
6. *HK*, pp. 204-205.
7. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. XXVII, Part I, pp. 52, 54.
8. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 168.
9. K.S. Saxena, *History of Kashmir*, p. 79.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Assessment of the Evidence of Verse 829

The text of this verse runs thus:

Roṣa-dhuya-calaṇa-telokka-Iacchi-vicchūḍha-ṇeura-cchāyaṁ
Vivarāha-keu-bhiṇṇaṁ ravi-bimbaṁ viyalayi nahammi i.e., 'The light of the sun begins to fade when its disc being pierced through by the Ketu, assumes the appearance of an anklet belonging to Trailokyalakṣmī, who as if cast it off her foot in anger.' The word *roṣa* meaning anger occurring in the first line of this verse has rightly been explained by the commentator Haripāla thus: 'Yaśovarman's angry glance flung in any direction produced portents presaging its destruction.'[1] The description continues in the next couplet which refers to a complete solar eclipse.[2] It may be added that this solar eclipse occurred on Monday, August 14, 733 A.D. and that it was sighted not only at Kanauj but also at other places such as Ujjain, Kashmir and also in some parts of the Deccan. The lunar eclipse[3] whose date has not been calculated by Jacobi, took place on August 29, 733 A.D.[4]

The references to inauspicious omens may symbolise some troubles or calamities that might have visited the regions where they took place. But the solar eclipse or any like event cannot be taken as an evidence of such a specific happening as Lalitāditya's invasion of Kanauj and the debacle of Yaśovarman. Jacobi's contention becomes all the more improbable when we learn that the said solar eclipse was simultaneously sighted in Kashmir as well. Some force could be added to his conjecture had he pointed out specific repercussions of all the portents on other regions also, including Kashmir where the solar eclipse was sighted. Thus this verse has nothing to say about the misfortunes of Yaśovarman or his kingdom. The context of the reference to these events must also be taken into account. In verses 803-805 of the *Gauḍavaho*, Vākpati is stated to have been requested by the learned to sing the glory of Yaśovarman. In

1. *Yasyāṁ diśi kupito Yaśovarmā bhavati tatra vināśasya sūcakā-utpātā*, on verse 829 of the *Gauḍavaho*.
2. *Ravi-vimbaṁ dīsayi kiraṇa-mukka-kīlāla-jambālaṁ* (*Ibid.*, 830).
3. *Ibid.*, 828.
4. I owe these calculations to Bhagat Dhan Pal Singh Jain, an eminent astronomer and astrologer of Lucknow.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

response to this request, he eulogises his patron's greatness and also describes him as an incarnation of Hari and Kṛṣṇa. This forms the theme of couplet nos. 806-827. Commenting on verses 827 and 832, Haripāla adds that when Yaśovarman prepared himself for universal conquest,[1] inauspicious portents rocked the worlds.[2] This is followed by the description of the eclipses and a few other inauspicious omens referred to above. And immediately afterwards, Vākpati mentions the amorous sports of Yaśovarman with the ladies of his enemies. Such a context cannot warrant any metaphorical allusion to Yaśovarman's debacle. On the contrary, it only serves to bring out his extraordinary prowess, and the danger posed by him to the world around him. Thus Jacobi's conclusion has nothing to commend it except a far fetched flight of fancy.

Evaluation of the Evidence of Verse 832

The text of this verse as followed by Jacobi is as follows:

Iya tayiyā khaṇa-ṇivvaḍiya-niyaya-paya bhaṅga bhaṅgurāvaṅge
Jāye imammi bhuyaṇesu dāruṇā āsi uppāyā

The phrase *niyaya-paya i.e., nijaka-pada* occurring in the first line of this couplet is found in three out of the four *MSS.* of the *Gauḍavaho*. Following this reading, Jacobi translates the first line of the verse thus: "The corner of his (Yaśovarman's) eye-brow became twisted on account of the shaking of his (kingly) position that was brought about temporarily or in a moment."[4] This translation is untenable for the following reasons:

(i) The twisting of Yaśovarman's eye-brow reflected his anger. It had nothing to do with the shaking of his kingly position. The commentator Haripāla rightly adds that the defiance of Yaśovarman's authority or order

1. *Saṁbhramo jagajjayodyatād Yaśovarmaṇo bhayam gagane keśadaṇḍākārā-utpātāḥ*, on verse 827.
2. *Bhuvana jayārtha yātrā samaye . . . bhuvaneṣu pararāṣṭreṣu dāruṇā-āsan utpātāḥ*, on verse 832.
3. *GV*, vv. 833 ff.
4. *Gottingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, Vol. II, pp. 67 ff, quoted in *GV*, Introduction, p. CCLVII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

during his conquering expeditions incurred his wrath, which found expression in the resentful curl of his eye-brow.[1] It is significant to note that references to the twisting of Yaśovarman's eye-brow are also found in some other verses of the *Gauḍavaho*,[2] besides couplet 832; and everywhere it is indicative of indignation. Kālidāsa,[3] Māgha[4] and Bhavabhūti[5] have used 'twisting of the eye-brow' to indicate anger.

(ii) The word '*pada*' occurring in couplet 832 has been used in the sense of order or command, not in that of status or position. For it (*pada*) is associated with and immediately followed by the word '*bhaṅga*' which means breaking or transgression. *Bhaṅga* never means shaking. Thus *bhaṅga* would not fit in so well with status or position as it does with authority or command. It may also be noted that the word *pada* in couplet 715 of the *Gauḍavaho* clearly means order or command.[6]

1. *Iti tadā bhuvanajayārthayātrāsamaye kṣaṇamātramapinirvṛttenijakapada-bhaṅge nṛpatyādikṛtasvamaryādātikramā-jñābhaṅgādike-aparādhe nimitte sati bhaṅgure sabhrukuṭike apāṅge yasya tasminścalite asmin Yaśovarmaṇi bhuvaneṣu dāruṇā āsan pararāṣṭreṣu-utpātāḥ*, on verse 832.
2. *Sevañjali-miliya-ṇaḍāla-maṇḍalā honti haḍha-paṇāmesu*
   Nūmiya-bhiuḍī bhaṅgavva jassa paḍivakkha-sāmantā (*GV*, 103)
   Bhumayā-bhaṅgāṇattāvi suvurisaṁ jaṁ ṇa turiya-malliyayi
   Taṁ maṇṇe dhāvantī rahaseṇa sirī parikkhalayi (*Ibid.*, 923)
   Iya līlā-rosuggama visamiya-bhumayammi jammi bubbhanti
   Veri ramaṇihiṁ vehavvalambha vihurāyim aṅgāyim (*Ibid.*, 1043)
3. *Iti dvijātau pratikūlavadinī pravepamānā-dharalakṣya kopayā*
   Vikuñcita-bhrūlatamāhite tayā vilocanetiryagupāntalohite (*Kumārasambhava*, V, 74)
4. *Śatrūṇamaniśaṁ vināśapiśunaḥ krudhasya caidyaṁ prati*
   Vyomnīva bhrukuṭicchalena vadane ketuścakārāspadam (*Śiśupāla*, I, 75)
5. In the *Mahāvīracarita*, *bhrukuṭīdhara-samvṛtaḥ* has been explained by the commentator Vīrarāghava as *kopenavikṛtabhrūrjātaḥ*, *MVC*, II, p. 78 *i.e.*, 'The eye-brow (of Paraśurāma) became twisted on account of his wrath.' In the *Uttararāmacarita*, *bhrukuṭīmukhaḥ samvṛttaḥ* has been used to indicate the angry posture of Candraketu. The commentator Ghanaśyāma explains *bhrukuṭīmukhaḥ* as *krodhenoddhateti* (*URC*, V, p. 121). Similarly, in verse 35 of the Act V of the *Uttararāmacarita*, *bhaṅgena vakram bhruvo* occurs in the same sense.
6. *Anurā-otti pariyaṇo koya-huyāsappahatti paḍivakkhā*
   Āṇā-payāṇa muddāsu tujjha vindanti sindūram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(iii) The second line of the verse 832 means: 'great calamities began to take place in the worlds (*bhuvaneṣu*) *i.e.*, in the realms of Yaśovarman's enemies as explained by the commentator Haripāla, as a result of the shaking of his position. This also goes against Jacobi's contention. For if the phrase *nijaka-pada-bhaṅga* is taken to mean the shaking of Yaśovarman's status, the occurrence of calamities in the worlds or in the recalcitrant realms cannot be explained, if as Jacobi supposes, it was a consequence of his *nijaka-pada-bhaṅga*.

(iv) Another very important objection to Jacobi's translation is that Yaśovarman's status was not shaken in a moment. As we have already discussed, he was vanquished after a protracted struggle.

Conclusion

These arguments and evidences make Jacobi's translation quite unconvincing and the said verse should be translated and explained thus:

'If his order or command (*nijaka-pada*) was defied or transgressed (by his feudatories etc.) even for a moment, the outer corner of his eye puckered, portending great calamities in the worlds or in the realms of refractory rulers.' And if we follow the reading *bhūlayā i.e.*, *bhrūlatā* instead of *nijaka-pada*, found in one *MS*, the couplet would mean that 'If his arched eyebrow (*bhūlayā*) and the outer corner of his eye puckered (on account of anger caused by the recalcitrance of his vassals etc.) even for a moment, great calamities overtook the worlds or the defiant countries.'

Lalitāditya's invasion of Kanauj definitely took place after 736 A.D. and before 749-753 A.D.[1] The late date of this con-

1. Lalitāditya's minister Mitraśarmā sent to the Chinese court in 736 A.D. described Yaśovarman as an ally of his master Lalitāditya (*RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89). Therefore, their clash must have taken place after this date and before 749-753 A.D. when Yaśovarman died (see *PC*, XI, vv. 28-29; *Prabandhakośa*, p. 27, *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 314). M.A. Stein (*RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89), H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 277) and R.C. Majumdar (*HB*, Vol. I, p. 83) also place it after 736 A.D. S.K. Aiyangar (*AISIHC*, Vol. I, p. 333) assigns it to c. 745 A.D. and Adris Banerji (*IC*, Vol. XV, p. 211) places it after 747 A.D.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

flict may also be inferred from its non-mention in the *Gauḍavaho*[1] and in the Nālandā stone inscription.[2]

IV. SOME ASPECTS OF YAŚOVARMAN'S PERSONALITY

The sources at our disposal acquaint us with the following aspects of Yaśovarman's personality.

As an Author

Yaśovarman wrote a play entitled *Rāmābhyudaya*[3] which dealt with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in six acts.[4] This play is not available in its original form, but its quotations are found in several later works *viz.* the *Dhvanyāloka*,[5] *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*,[6] *Daśarūpaka*,[7] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*,[8] *Subhāsitāvali*,[9] *Bhāva-*

According to K.P. Jayaswal, Yaśovarman's sending an embassy to China in 731 A.D. seems to have followed his defeat at the hands of Lalitāditya, for the Kashmir king himself was under the acknowledged suzerainty of China, and Yaśovarman would naturally seek the moral support of the Chinese Emperor after his defeat by his protege (*IHI*, p. 70). These arguments are unfounded and far-fetched. Yaśovarman's purpose of sending his envoy to the Chinese court was entirely different (see Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 135; *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89; Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71; *HK*, p. 196). And such an early date of this battle is not justified by any evidence.

1. In the extant form of the *Gauḍavaho*, there is no allusion to or indication of Yaśovarman's conflict with Lalitāditya. V.A. Smith's suggestion that "if Vākpati can be believed when he affirms that his hero marched triumphantly defeating all his enemies between the Narmadā and the Himalayas, can it be possible that Lalitāditya may have been for a time the subordinate ally of the king of Kanauj and (was) constrained to strike coins in his (Yaśovarman's) name" (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 784) has nothing to commend it.
2. This inscription describes Yaśovarman as a victorious hero and destroyer of his enemies in every quarter (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 2).
3. *Rāmābhyudaya-Yaśovarmaṇā* (Abhinavagupta on *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 48).
4. *Ṣaḍaṅkaṁ draśyate loke Rāmābhyudaya-nāṭakaṁ* (*Bhāvaprakāśana*, p. 237). For a conjectural summary of the theme of the *Rāmābhyudaya*, see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 268-272.
5. *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 132-133.
6. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, p. 331.
7. *Daśarūpaka*, p. 50.
8. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 270.
9. *Subhāsitāvali*, verse 1776 and p. 56, notes.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

prakāśana,[1] *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[2] *and Abhinavabhāratī*[3] etc. The fact that *Rāmābhyudaya* was quoted by the above-mentioned illustrious writers amply bears out its great literary merits.[4]

S.C. Ray, however, does not ascribe this play to Yaśovarman on the following grounds:

(i) Kalhaṇa omits the fact that Yaśovarman was a poet.
(ii) Yaśovarman had a premature death. Hence he could have hardly held the sword and the pen alike, and composed a play which would have attracted the attention of a great rhetorician like Ānandavardhana. He adds that '*Rāmābhyudaya*' was written by Saṁkaravarman of Kashmir under his pen-name Yaśovarman.[5]

These observations are untenable for following reasons:

(i) Kalhaṇa only described Yaśovarman's battle with Lalitāditya and its results. He was not recording all accomplishments of the Kanauj king. Hence the omission of this or any other achievement of Yaśovarman which was not relevant in the context, on the part of Kalhaṇa cannot be taken as an evidence of its negation.
(ii) Yaśovarman had not a premature death as is supposed by S.C. Ray. He roughly ruled for more than 30 years (*i.e.*, from c. 720 to 749-53 A.D.). Therefore, he like Harṣavardhana[6] and Mahendravarman I[7] could find time to write a play.

1. *Bhāvaprakāśana*, pp. 200, 212, 232-233.
2. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, Vol. I, pp. 45, 56-57, 72-73, 91-92, 95, 109-110, 116, 144, 158.
3. *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. III, 64.
4. For details see V. Raghavan, *Some Old Six Rāma Plays*, pp. 1-25.
5. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, no. 4, pp. 381-382.
6. Harṣa wrote three plays namely *Nāgānanda*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* during his reign of about 41 years *i.e.*, from c. 606 A.D. to 647 A.D. (*HK*, pp. 125, 180-188).
7. Mahendravarman (c. 600-630 A.D.) wrote the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* during his rule of about thirty years (R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī*, pp. 88, 94-95).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(iii) There is no evidence to show that Saṁkaravarman wrote the *Rāmābhyudaya* under his *nom de plume* Yaśovarman. On the other hand, the Kanauj king is clearly mentioned as its author in several later works referred to above.

M. Ram Krishna Kavi supports the view of S.C. Ray and adds that Saṁkaravarman of Kashmir was the patron of Bhavabhūti. He bases his contention on the grounds that Bhavabhūti makes no mention of Yaśovarman and that Vākpati omits the name of his patron's capital wherefrom he started on his conquests and where he had finally celebrated his victories.[1] These arguments are also not convincing. In couplet 737 of the *Gauḍavaho*, Vākpati does mention the capital of Yaśovarman under the name Gādhipura and adds that he (Yaśovarman) performed there his *vijayābhiṣeka* after the conclusion of his conquests. That Bhavabhūti graced the court of Yaśovarman is well attested by the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho*,[2] and that of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3] And as regards the non-mention of Yaśovarman's name in the works of Bhavabhūti, it may be said that Bhavabhūti does not refer to any other king as his patron.

As a Patron of Letters

Himself a litterateur, Yaśovarman was a competent judge of literary merits[4] and a liberal patron of letters. The literary coterie of his court consisted of Bhavabhūti, Vākpati,[5] Atrigupta[6] and others. The works of these writers enriched respectively the domain of drama, Prakrit *kāvya* and Śaiva philosophy. That the University of Nālandā continued to be a radiating centre of advanced learning and education under Yaśovarman's patro-

1. 'Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and Yaśovarman of Kashmir', *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 45-52.
2. *GV*, vv. 797, 799.
3. *RT*, IV, 144.
4. See *GV*, Introduction, p. CXL.
5. *Kavir-Vākpatirāja-Bhavabhūtyādisevitaḥ . . . . . Yaśovarmā* (*RT*, IV, 144).
6. *K.C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta—an Historical and Philosophical Study*, pp. 5-6.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nage, is borne out by his Nālandā inscription. It describes that this celebrated city with its magnificent monasteries and splendid *stūpas* was the abode of distinguished scholars[1] and was marked for its academic eminence as before.[2]

Literary Luminaries of his Court

Bhavabhūti

Bhavabhūti[3] is rightly regarded as the greatest dramatist in the post-Kālidāsa period.[4] Also known as Śrīkaṇṭha, he was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha and Jātukarṇi and disciple of Jñānanidhi.[5] Padmapura in Vidarbha[6] was his birth place. Bhavabhūti refers to his proficiency in grammar, rhetoric and logic

1. The Nālandā inscription records that the city of Nālandā had scholars who were famous for their (knowledge of the) sacred texts and arts (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43).
2. Nālandā rose to importance as a great centre of learning about the middle of the 5th century A.D. (R.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 557 ff; A.S. Altekar, *Prācīna-Bhāratīya-Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, pp. 39 ff), and enjoyed royal recognition at least upto 750 A.D., when Kamala Śīla was the professor of *Tantras* (S.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 515-516). Scholars of Nālandā went to Tibet for the propagation of Buddhism, and monk Carmagomin who flourished in the beginning of the 8th century, was the pioneer in this work. And the Tibetan king had invited Śāntarakṣita of Nālandā to Tibet, in 749 A.D. (Altekar, *Prācīna-Bhāratīya Śikṣāṇapaddhati*, p. 95). For details see H.D. Sankalia, *University of Nālandā*, pp. 36 ff.
3. On the evidence of a *MS.* of the *Mālatīmādhava*, some scholars regard Bhavabhūti as a pupil of the famous Mīmāṁsaka Kumārila. He (Bhavabhūti) is also identified with Umbeka or Umbekācārya. But these contentions are of doubtful validity. For details see *GV*, Introduction, pp. CCLX-CCLXVI; *IHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 303-305; *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, p. 424; Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 618-620.

   According to Vīrarāghava, the poet obtained the title Bhavabhūti from his patron-king because of his clever use of the words *bhava* and *bhūti* (Todarmall, *MVC*, Introduction, p. XXIV).
4. Dasgupta and De, *HSL*, Vol. I, p. 277; M. Hiriyana, *Sanskrit Studies*, p. 26.
5. *MVC*, I, pp. 5-6; *MM*, p. 4; *URC*, I, p. 9.
6. *MM*, I, p. 7. Some scholars, however, identify Padmapura with Padmāvatī (*GD*, p. 143). But this identification as shown by Mirashi (*IHQ*, Vol. XI, pp. 287-299), is untenable.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(*padavākya-pramāṇajño*),[1] in the *Vedas*, Upniṣads, Sānkhya and Yoga.[2] And being conscious of his profound erudition, he claimed that the goddess of learning herself followed him.[3]

Three plays of Bhavabhūti namely the *Mahāvīracarita*, the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Uttararāmacarita*, are so far known to us. The sentiment of heroism prevails in the first; the second is dominated by the sentiment of love, and the third is famous for the portraiture of pathos. Besides these works, certain stanzas are ascribed to him in various anthologies, but they are not traceable in his extant dramas. And *Guṇaratna*, a treasury of 13 verses is also attributed to him.[4] The discussion of the literary merits of Bhavabhūti's plays is beyond the scope of the present work.[5]

Vākpati

Vākpati[6] is described as the head-jewel of the Kṣatriyas of Paramāra clan,[7] a king (*narendra*), great poet (*mahākavi*),[8] writer of the *prabandhas*, and a matchless scholar.[9] He originally graced the court of king Dharma of Gauḍa who was slain by Yaśovarman. And after his victory, the Kanauj king cast

1. *MVC*, I, pp. 7-8; *URC*, I, p. 9. *Vīrarāghava* explains the phrase *padavākyapramāṇajña* as *vyākaraṇatarkamīmāṁsābhijño*, *MVC*, I, p. 8. Also see Dasgupta and De, *HSL*, p. 278; *CA*, p. 308.
2. *MM*, I, 7.
3. *URC*, I, 2.
4. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 620.
5. For a detailed information regarding Bhavabhūti's life and various literary aspects of his works, see R.G. Bhandarkar, Preface, *MM*; A.R. Barua, Introduction, *MVC*; Todarmall and Macdonell, Introduction, *MVC*; P.V. Kane, Introduction, *URC*; S.C. Vidyabhusana, *Bhavabhūti*, Translated by Jvaladatta Sharma in Hindi; S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *HSL*, Vol. I; M. Hiriyana, *Sanskrit Studies*; Gangasagar Rai, *Mahākavi-Bhavabhūti* (in Hindi); V.V. Mirashi, *Bhavabhūti* etc.
6. Krıshnamachariar, however, regards Vākpati as the son of one Harṣadeva (*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 620). But he does not refer to the source of this information.
7. *Paramāramahāvaṁśasambhūta-Kṣatriyāgraṇīḥ . . . Vākpatirājo* (*Bappabhaṭṭicarita*, *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 319).
8. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 35.
9. *Viduṣām-maulimāṇikyam prabandhakaviradbhutaḥ* (*PC*, XI, vv. 163, 394; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 317).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vākpati into prison and brought him to Kanauj. During his confinement, Vākpati composed the *Gauḍavaho* which he showed to Yaśovarman and secured his release.[1] Later on he became a favourite of the Kanauj king and was made poet-laureate at his court.[2] Vākpati was a Vaiṣṇava, but if the information of the Jaina works is to be believed, he became a Jaina during the last days of his life and died at Mathura.[3]

Vākpati was either a friend or pupil of Kamalāyudha and an admirer of Bhavabhūti. He had read with profit the works of the past poets namely Bhāsa, Jvalanamitra, Kuntīdeva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Hariścandra.[4] He was well versed in logic, or dialectics, poesy, *Purāṇas*, legendary-lore and other works.[5]

From the *Gauḍavaho* we learn that Vākpati had earlier written a *prabandhakāvya* entitled *Mahumahaviyaya i.e., Madhumathavijaya* which he regarded as superior to *Gauḍavaho*.[6] But the *Prabandhakośa* wrongly records that *Madhumathavijaya* was composed later than the *Gauḍavaho*.[7] The *Madhumathavijaya* has survived only in the form of quotations contained in later works such as the *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kāvyādarśa* and *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi*.[8] As its title suggests, this play may have glorified the achievements of Lord Viṣṇu particularly his victory over the demon Madhu. Vākpati outlived Yaśovarman and enjoyed the patronage of his son Āma as well. And in the latter's reign, he is stated to have composed two *kāvyas* viz. the *Gauḍabandha* and the *Madramahīvijaya*.[9] But except *Gauḍavaho* and fragments of the *Madhumathavijaya*, no other work of Vākpati has been discovered so far.

Vākpati was a great supporter of the Prakrit language. He says that "New subjects, rich compositions sweet on account of the softness of their words—these have no where abounded

1. *PC*, XI, vv. 461-62.
2. *GV*, 767.
3. *PC*, XI, vv. 553-566, 606-614; *Prabandhakośa*, p. 39.
4. *GV*, vv. 798-800.
5. *Ibid.*, 802.
6. *Ibid.*, 69.
7. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 37.
8. See Pischell's *Grammatik Der Prakrit*, pp. 11-13.
9. *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 321.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

except in Prakrit. All languages enter into it and all are derived from it."[1]

Atrigupta

Atrigupta was another notable scholar in the Antarvedī[2] during the reign of Yaśovarman. He is stated to have mastered all the śāstras. His scholarship highly impressed Lalitāditya who took him to Kashmir.[3] However, no work of Atrigupta has so far been found. K.C. Pandey regards him to be a poet of Yaśovarman's court, but there is no clear mention of his association with the Kanauj king. Kalhaṇa informs us that Yaśovarman was served by Vākpati, Bhavabhūti and others.[5] Does the word *ityādi* implying other writer or writers, used here by Kalhaṇa, include Atrigupta?

Yaśovarman as a Statesman

Vākpati describes Yaśovarman as Cāṇakya-carita[6] *i.e.*, the performer of the deeds like those of Cāṇakya, an astute politician and statesman of the Mauryan era. This comparison bears out his marked proficiency in polity. Kalhaṇa also calls him a "thoughtful ruler of Kanyakubja"[7] (*matimān-Kanyakubjendraḥ*). This is further confirmed by the fact that he had dispatched his embassy to the Chinese court in 731 A.D.[8] and also made an

1. *GV*, vv. 92-93.
2. *Antarvedyāmatriguptābhidhānaḥ prāpyotpattiṁ prāviśat prāgrajanmā Śrī Kāsmīrāścandracūḍavatārarniḥśankhyākaiḥ-pāvitopāntabhāgān* (*Parātriṁśikā*, p. 280, verse 11)
3. *Niḥśeṣa śāstrasadanaṁ . . . Madhyadeśastasminnajāyata . . . kopyatrigupta . . . śāstrābdhicarvaṇa . . . tamatha Lalitādityorājā syakaṁ puramānayat* (*Tantrāloka*, Vol. XII, pp. 404-405).
4. *Abhinavagupta—an Historical and Philosophical Study*, pp. 5-6.
5. *Kavir-Vākpatirāja-Bhavabhūtyādi sevitaḥ* (*RT*, IV, 144).
6. *GV*, 1184.
7. *RT*, IV, 135.
8. "During the tenth month of the XIX year of the K'ai-Yüan age (*i.e.*, November 4 to December 3, 731 A.D.), the Central Indian king, Yi-sha-fu-mo (Yaśovarman), sent one *Bhadanta* named Po-ta-hsin to the court with the presents of the local product" (*JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 167; P.C. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71). But other authorities give the name Seng-po-ta *i.e.* Saṅghabhadra (*CA*, p. 130, note 2).

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alliance with his strongest rival Lalitāditya of Kashmir.[1] Though he could not get assistance from China, and his friendship with Lalitāditya, too, ended in enmity, Yaśovarman's efforts in this direction do deserve appreciation.

As a Builder

Yaśovarman is stated to have built a temple at Ayodhya in one day.[2] The fact that the construction of the temple was completed only in one day shows that either the shrine was a very small one; or else Vākpati's information regarding the time taken in its erection is incorrect. However, none of the extant shrines at Ayodhya can be associated with Yaśovarman's reign. He also founded a town named Yaśovarmapura after his name which is identified by Cunningham with the modern town of Bihar,[3] and by Kielhorn with Ghosrāwa,[4] situated at a distance of two miles from the Giriyek spur of Rajgir hills.[5] In the Ghosrāwa inscription of the 9th-10th century A.D. we are told that Vīradeva who enjoyed the patronage of Devapāla, visited the glorious Yaśovarmapuravihāra, and stayed there for some time.[6] This reference points to the prominence of Yaśovarmapura during the Pāla period. Yaśovarman is also believed to have renovated the celebrated *stūpa* at Mānikyāla, on the basis of a gold coin bearing the name Yaśovarman found in it.[7] No other structure is known to have been erected during his reign. Yaśovarman may have embellished his capital city Kanauj with a few monuments. But the evidence at our disposal does not enlighten us on this point.

His Pastimes and Amusements

Amorous sports in the company of ladies was a popular

1. *RT*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 89.
2. *Sura-pāsāo pahuṇā ekkeṇa diṇeṇanimmavi-o* (*GV*, 508).
3. *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 135-136; *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 164.
4. *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 309, 311, note 30.
5. *IC*, Vol. XV, p. 210.
6. *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 310.
7. *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 160.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

pastime of ancient Indian rulers.[1] Vākpati describes the love-sports of his patron in the company of women, at Kurukshetra[2] and in other territories.[3] We are also informed that during the spring season, Yaśovarman used to go with ladies to the forest tracts on the suburbs of the (capital) city, for relaxation.[4]

His Religious Leanings

Various views have been proffered regarding the religious faith of Yaśovarman. The fact that all the plays of Bhavabhūti were enacted on the occasions of the *Yātrā* festivals held in honour of Kālapriyanātha[5] led J. Hertel[6] and others[7] to surmise that he was the presiding deity of the family of the Kanauj king, and that his shrine stood at Kanauj. This conjecture is not convincing. The main purpose of the poet in getting his dramas staged on the above-mentioned occasions was to make their wide publicity.[8] There is nothing to substantiate the view that Kālapriyanātha was the presiding deity of Yaśovarman's family. Besides, a thorough search by us at Kanauj as well as in its suburbs did not yield any trace of the temple of that deity. Nor is there any local tradition about its existence in the past.

Adris Banerji[9] contends that Yaśovarman was a Bhāgavata

1. See Manmath Rai, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Manorañjana*, pp. 154-163, 318 ff.
2. *GV*, 486.
3. *Ibid*, vv. 161-166.
4. *Ibid.*, vv. 788-791.
5. *MM*, I, p. 5; *MVC*, I, p. 5; *URC*, I, p. 9.
6. *Asia Major*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
7. *KM*, Appendix I, p. 285; *HK*, p. 209.
8. That Bhavabhūti's literary works were not properly received and appreciated is evident from his following remark:

   'This poetic composition (*viz.*, *Mālatīmādhava*) is not meant for those who are predisposed to disregard it, whatever be the extent of their knowledge. There will (definitely) be born or there is, some one whose wits and wisdom match with those of mine (in evaluating and appreciating this work), for time is without end and the earth is boundless' (*MM*, I, 6). Bhavabhūti, therefore, wanted to make his plays popular by getting them staged on the occasions of the *Yātrā* festivals of Kālapriyanātha, where people from different places used to throng.
9. *IHQ*, Vol. XV, p. 205.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

i.e., Vaiṣṇava, on the basis of his comparisons to Hari[1] and Keśava,[2] two of the various forms of Viṣṇu. But such comparisons point towards the divinity of the king based on the functional resemblance between a ruler on the one hand, and a god on the other.[3] They have nothing to do with the religious proclivity of a potentate. A much more convincing evidence of the Vaiṣṇava faith of Yaśovarman is furnished by another source which has, however, been ignored by Banerji. Yaśovarman wrote *Rāmābhyudaya*[4] (*i.e.*, the rise of Rāma), obviously to eulogise the glory and achievements of Lord Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. From this it may safely be deduced that the Kanauj king chose the theme on account of his devotion to Rāma.

According to R.S. Tripathi,[5] Yaśovarman was either a Śaiva or a Śākta. The conjecture regarding his faith in Śaivism appears to have been based on the presumptions[6] that Kālapriyanātha was the presiding deity of Yaśovarman's family, and that he should be identified with Śiva. But we have discussed elsewhere[7] that Kālapriyanātha was the sun god whose shrine stood at Kālpī,[8] and that he was not the presiding deity of Yaśovarman's family.

As for Yaśovarman's devotion to Śakti, it is amply borne

1. Hari obtained Lakṣmī after churning the ocean; and Yaśovarman attained rājya-Lakṣmī by his own prowess (*GV*, 1039).
2. Yaśovarman has been compared to Keśava in as much as the latter rests on the Śeṣa in the sea, and the fame of the Kanauj king reached the shores of the ocean (*Ibid.*, 1045).
3. "When the *Avatāra* theory became popular, kings began to be regarded as incarnation of gods" (A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 91).
4. *Rāmābhyudaya-Yaśovarmaṇā* (Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 48).
5. *HK*, p. 209.
6. Tripathi has, however, not given any argument in support of his suggestion.
7. See S.M. Mishra, 'New light on the identification of Kālapriyanātha', *Purāṇa*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 171-177.
8. This identification has been earlier suggested by V.V. Mirashi (*IHQ*, Vol. XI, p. 289; *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff; *Purāṇa*, Vol. VIII, No. I, pp. 38-51; *V. Raghvan Felicitation Volume*, pp. 257-60); A.S. Altekar (*Raṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 102); S.S. Awasthi (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 207-209) and D.C. Sircar (*St.GAMI*, pp. 241-244).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

out by the *Gauḍavaho*. It tells us that Yaśovarman visited the celebrated shrine of the Vindhyavāsinīdevī and invoked her with profound reverence.[1] This invocation betrays without doubt his marked leanings towards the goddess.

Vākpati tells us that Yaśovarman was coronated (*kayāhiseso i.e., kṛtābhiṣeka*) before he started on his military expeditions.[2] The commentator Haripāla interprets *abhiṣeka i.e.*, coronation, as a bath taken with the recitation of the Vedic mantras and performance of sacrifices befitting such an occasion.[3] If this explanation is correct, then it would point out to Yaśovarman's regard for the Vedic religion and rituals.

In the Mānikyāla *stūpa* were found the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka mixed with a single gold coin of Yaśovarman and a number of silver Sassano-Arabian coins roughly belonging to the period of Yaśovarman. Cunningham ascribes this coin to Yaśovarman of Kanauj. He also contends that the *stūpa* was originally constructed during the reign of Huviṣka, and that Yaśovarman re-built it after a lapse of seven centuries und deposited in it the old relics with the addition of his own gold coin.[4] But this piece of evidence is not sufficient to show that the Kanauj king was a Buddhist. For in the first place, the attribution of this coin is not beyond controversy.[5] Secondly, even if it belonged to Yaśovarman, its testimony cannot be regarded as conclusive.[6] It is more probable that the Mānikyāla *stūpa* was renovated by Mālāda who was an ardent Buddhist and son of Tikina, the incharge of the north-western province (*udīcīpati*) of Yaśovarman's dominions.[7]

1. *GV*, vv. 285-347.
2. *Aha so kayāhiseso samayammi ṇimilla-meha-māhapppe*
   Cali-o sayala-dharā-valaya-viyaya . . . vavasāo (*GV*, 192)
3. *Kṛtābhiṣeka Vaidikamantrakṛtasnānaviśesaḥ-kṛtaprāsthānikahomaḥ*, on verse 192.
4. *ASIR*, Vol. II (1871), pp. 159-160.
5. Hoernle, however, attributed this coin to Yaśodharman of Malwa (*JRAS*, 1903, pp. 549-552; *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 105-108). But his arguments are not convincing.
6. A coin can easily be moved from one place to another or dropped somewhere accidentally. Therefore, the evidence of the find-spot of a coin should be utilised with caution especially when it is not supported by any other source.
7. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 43-44.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The *Prabandhakośa* informs us that Yaśovarman breathed his last, securing shelter of the threefold purifications prescribed for an *Arhanta* or a Jaina monk.[1] This information is rather incompatible with that of the contemporary sources which represent him either as a votary of Rāma or that of Śakti. Besides, other Jaina works *viz.*, the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita* and the *Prabhāvakacarita* give no indication of Yaśovarman's faith in Jainism.

Thus we have positive proofs of Yaśovarman's devotion to Rāma and Śakti. The contention that he was a devotee of Śiva has nothing to commend it. Nor should he be believed to have become a Jaina during the closing days of his life, on the basis of the testimony of the *Prabandhakośa* alone. Similarly, the evidence regarding his alleged patronage to Buddhism is also inadequate and dubious. Yaśovarman's religious proclivity would have been known to us more precisely, had Vākpati mentioned the name of the deity in whose honour his patron had raised a shrine at Ayodhya.[2]

1. *Yaśovarmā arhantaṁ tridhā* (*trividha*) *śuddhyā śaraṇaṁ dyāmgataḥ* (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 28).
2. During his military expeditions, Yaśovarman reached Ayodhya (Hariścandranagarī), where he stayed for some time and constructed a temple (*GV*, 507-508). But the association of any particular divinity with this temple is not indicated.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

4

Successors of Yaśovarman

The problem of the successors of Yaśovarman is very puzzling and tantalizing. Like Yaśodharman of Malwa and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, he is generally though wrongly regarded as an isolated ruler. But the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, the *Prabhāvakacarita* and the *Prabandhakośa* furnish important information about his successors which may succinctly be produced as under:

Āma

Yaśovarman had a son named Āma born of his chief queen Suyaśā during the period of her exile at Rāmasainya. Āma was fostered by a Jaina saint Siddhasena at Moḍherakapura in Gujarat. Later on he as well as Suyaśā were restored to their positions. But Āma was a spendthrift. Yaśovarman, therefore, advised him frugality. This annoyed Āma and leaving the royal court he again went to Moḍherakapura where he was taught seventytwo arts and crafts.[1] When Yaśovarman fell seriously ill, he sent for Āma and installed him on the throne of Kanauj as his successor.[2] Āma's accession took place between V.S. 807 and 811.[3]

1. *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita* in *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, pp. 314-315; *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 27-28; *PC*, XI, vv. 47-73.
2. *Yaśovarmanṛpeṇa-asādhyavyādhitena-paṭṭābhiṣekārtham . . . Āma-kumārākaraṇāya pradhāna puruṣāḥ preṣitāḥ (Āma) tatra nītaḥ . . . pitrālingitaḥ abhiṣiktaḥ svarājye* (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 28). See also *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 315; *PC*, Vol. XI, vv. 76-77.
3. *PC*, XI, vv. 28-29, 115-117; *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 27-29; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 314. For details see chapter III, part I, under Reign period of Yaśovarman.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Āma once saw a cobra while he was wandering about all alone outside his capital city. The cobra bore on its head a jewel of extraordinary radiance which attracted Āma's notice. He caught hold of it and carried it home. Keeping the cobra well secured, he pronounced a puzzle in the assembly of the learned in the presence of Bappabhaṭṭi, and the latter gave him the title Nāgāvaloka.[1]

The Jaina works give a lengthy but vague account of Āma's inveterate enmity with king Dharma of Gauḍa-*deśa*. They tell us that in order to end this long standing hostility, the Gauḍa king sent a messenger to Āma with the following proposal: 'Let there be an academic discussion between our representatives and that one whose nominee is defeated by his counterpart should surrender his kingdom to the victor. The Kanauj king agreed. And in that debate Āma's court-poet Vākpati outrivalled his counterpart Vardhanakuñjara. Consequently, Dharma offered his kingdom to Āma. The latter accepted it and later on returned it to his vanquished rival.[2] Āma's victory over Gauḍa is also evidenced by the *Gauḍabandha* (probably different from the *Gauḍavadha*) composed by Vākpati during his reign.[3]

Āma is also mentioned to have invaded Rājagṛha and achieved some success against its ruler Samudrasena, after a protracted struggle. Shortly after this victory, he set out on a pilgrimage with Bappabhaṭṭi. Having visited several sacred Jaina spots, he returned to Gwalior. Āma then formally abdicated the throne, appointed his son Dunduka as his successor[4] and went to Magadhatīrtha where he died as a devout Jaina in V.S. 890.[5]

1. *PC*, XI, vv. 175-188; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, pp. 106-107.
2. *PC*, XI, vv. 356-448; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 319.
3. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 37. Also see *PC*, XI, 473; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), p. 321.
4. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 323; *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 41-43; *PC*, XI, vv. 625-710.
5. *Vikramato varṣāṇām śatāṣṭake sanavatau ca Bhādrapade*
   Dṛḍhaṁ Jineśasanmitragurupādasmṛtisthitaḥ
   Śrīmān Nāgāvalokākhyo rājā prāpa divaṁ tadā (*PC*, XI, vv. 719-721; *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 323). Also see *Prabandhakośa*, p. 43.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Assessment of the Above Account: Āma's Accession to the Throne of Kanauj

That the rule of Yaśovarman's family did not end with his death, but was continued by his successors, can hardly be doubted. For, the evidence of the Jaina works on this point is clear and unanimous, having no clash with the history of that period. And the date of Āma's accession which has been placed between c. 749 and 753 A.D. by the Jaina writers, is quite reasonable.[1]

Conquests of Āma

Āma is stated to have subdued the rulers of Rājagṛha and Gauḍa. Both these states formed part of Yaśovarman's dominions. But either during the later part of his reign[2] or in the time of Āma,[3] they may have declared their independence and Āma had to reconquer them. The accounts of Āma's encounters with the kings of these states are mixed with and dominated by legendary details.[4] But in view of almost chaotic conditions

1. The unanimous evidence of the Jaina works that Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Āma at Kanauj between V.S. 807 and 811, is fairly reliable. For, no king of any other dynasty is known to have ruled over Kanauj from about the middle of the 8th century till the commencement of the rule of the Āyudhas at the close of the third quarter of the 8th century or in the beginning of the last quarter of the same century. Also see *HK*, pp. 212-213.
2. Yaśovarman's decisive defeat at the hands of Lalitāditya after 736 A.D. and before 749-53 A.D., had impaired his sovereign status and it may have encouraged the vassal states to throw off their allegiance to him.
3. Āma had a pronounced proclivity towards Jainism. And the accounts of the Jaina works give us an impression that he lacked military dash.
4. The Jaina works tell us that Āma could not capture the fort of Rājagṛha by defeating its ruler Samudrasena. The fort is stated to have fallen down at the mere glance of his newly born grandson Bhoja, flung on its walls (*Prabandhakośa*, pp. 41-43; *PC*, XI, vv. 675-710; *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 323). Similarly, there is no reference to any battle fought between Āma and king Dharma of Gauḍa. The latter is mentioned to have surrendered his kingdom on account of his representative's defeat in an academic debate (*Prabandhakośa*, pp. 35-36; *PC*, XI, vv. 356-448).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

prevailing in Magadha and Gauḍa[1] before the rise of the Pālas, Āma's success against them in the early part of his reign appears probable. The Jaina works represent Samudrasena and Dharma as the rulers of Rājagṛha and Gauḍa respectively. The former cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. As regards Dharma, also mentioned as Dharmabhūpa and Dharmabhūpāla, he may be identified with the Pāla potentate Dharmapāla on the basis of their contemporaneity, patronage to Buddhism[2] and similarity in their names. Āma may have vanquished Magadha and Gauḍa before the expansion of the Pāla power. Later on, the attempts of the Pālas to bring these states under their sway, seem to have been the cause of Āma's hostilities with Dharmapāla. And despite the information of the Jaina works to the contrary, Dharmapāla may be believed to have defeated Āma and brought Bengal and Bihar under his direct rule.[3]

According to D.C. Sircar, the name of the Gauḍa ruler reminds us of Dharmapāla whose date was not far removed from that of Āma. But he adds that the Jaina tradition may in a confused manner actually refer to a struggle with an earlier Gauḍa king who was killed by Yaśovarman.[4] This contention is contradicted by the evidence of the Jaina works which clearly mention two different rulers of Gauḍa having the name Dharma. One of them was slain by Yaśovarman,[5] whereas the other was

1. Jīvitagupta II, the last known king of the Later Gupta dynasty, was defeated and killed by Yaśovarman sometime between 726 and 732 A.D. And the period of about twentyfive years that intervened between the death of Jīvitagupta II and the rise of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, was full of external invasions and consequent chaos; and *mātsyanyāya* prevailed both in Bihar and Bengal. See *HB*, Vol. I, p. 183; *DKM*, pp. 321-322; *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 251, verse 4, for details.
2. Dharmapāla like other Pāla rulers, patronised Buddhism, and the Jaina writers also tell us that king Dharma of Gauḍa was the patron of the Buddhist scholar Vardhanakuñjara.
3. *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 47.
4. *Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Part I, p. 155.
5. *PC*, XI, vv. 463-64; *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 321; *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 30, 37. For details see chapter III, part II, under Rout of the kingdom of Gauḍa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

later on subdued by Āma. Besides, the details of Yaśovarman's encounter with the Gauḍa king as recorded in the Jaina works are quite different from those which we find in connection with Āma's enmity with king Dharma.

Āma's conquest of Madra *i.e.*, modern Sialkot and its adjacent districts in central Punjab,[1] may be inferred from the fact that Vākpati composed a *kāvya* entitled *Madramahīvijaya* (*i.e.*, the victory over Madra region) during his reign.[2] Here it should be pointed out that certain *MSS.* of the *Prabhāvakacarita* substitute *Mahumahaviyaya i.e.*, *Madhumathavijaya* for *Madramahīvijaya.*[3] But Vākpati himself tells us that *Madhumathavijaya* was his first composition, and *Gauḍavaho* the second one. The latter was written by him during the reign of Yaśovarman.[4] In view of this clear and contemporary testimony, the *Madhumathavijaya* cannot be taken to be a composition of Āma's regime. In fact, it seems to have been written even before Vākpati associated himself with Yaśovarman. We, therefore, accept the reading of the Bombay edition of the *Prabhāvakacarita*, which has *Madramahīvijaya* instead of *Madhumathavijaya.*

Madra was conquered by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[5] But his weak successors could not maintain the integrity of their kingdom.[6] And it was most probably during the reign of one of these rulers that Āma may have conquered *Madra* and kept it under his sway till it was vanquished by Jayāpīḍa.[7]

1. *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. XVIII, p. 257; *GD*, p. 116; *HGAI*, p. 105.
2. *Vākpatirājo Bappabhaṭṭinā saha-Āmabhūpālasya sadasi vasan-Gauḍabandho-Madramahīvijayeśceti kāvyadvayamaracayat* (*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 321; *Prabandhakośa*, p. 37).
3. *PC* (SJGM), XI, 475.
4. *GV*, 69.
5. *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. XVIII, p. 267.
6. Lalitāditya was succeeded by his elder son Kuvalayāpīḍa who abandoned the throne after one year. His successor Vajrāditya is stated to have been a cruel and sensuous prince, and he succumbed to his excesses after a rule of seven years. The next two rulers Pṛthivyāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I, were also insignificant kings. The former ruled for four years, and the latter for only seven days (*RT*, IV, vv. 372-401). Also see *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Stein's Introduction, p. 93.
7. *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Āma's Rule over Kanauj and Gwalior

Āma became the king of Kanauj[1] after the death of Yaśovarman and ruled there for about twenty years. But in the last quarter of the 8th century, the Pratihāras and the Pālas began to fight for the hegemony of northern India. Their main target was Kanauj, the coveted centre of north Indian politics. The accounts of this struggle indirectly indicate that Āma could not measure his strength with the powerful rulers of these dynasties. And he appears to have lost his hold not only over Rājagṛha, Gauḍa and Madra, but was also forced to leave his parental capital Kanauj about the close of the third quarter of the 8th century.[2] Then he shifted his headquarters to Gwalior[3] which was included in Yaśovarman's kingdom[4] and may have been still in the orbit of Āma's suzerainty. But the political events of that period did not allow Āma and his successors to rule in peace for a long time in Gwalior as well. According to the Sanjan record, all the kings of central India were reduced to submission by the generals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda-III in the first decade of the 9th century.[5] Later on Gwalior and some other central Indian territories were annexed by the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II.[6] Thus in the later

1. Āma is described as *Kanyakubjeśa* (*Prabandhakośa*, pp. 32, 38) and *Kanyakubjamahīnātha* (*PC*, XI, 222). We are also told that Bappabhaṭṭi had gone to Kanyakubja to meet him (*PC*, XI, vv. 116-117). Āma is also stated to have erected a temple of Jina at Kanauj (*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 105).
2. The rule of the Āyudha kings is generally taken to have begun in Kanauj sometime in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. These kings namely Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha ruled there as the proteges of the Pratihāras or the Pālas for about 25 years or so. For details see *HK*, pp. 212-218; *EHI*, pp. 392-393; *Age of Imperial, Kanauj*, pp. 23-24.
3. Gopagiri or Gopālagiri *i.e.*, Gwalior is referred to as the city of Āma where he had built a shrine of Mahāvīra (*Prabandhakośa*, pp. 28, 29). See also *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33, 36, 37, 40, 43; *PC*, XI, vv. 139-140, for Āma's intimate association with Gwalior in the later part of his reign.
4. *Kanyakubjadeśe Gopālagiridurganagare Yaśovarmanṛpateḥ* (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 27).
5. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245; Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 65.
6. See Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 73-74; B.N. Puri, *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 45, note 3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

part of his reign, Āma may have ruled in Gwalior mostly as a feudatory. And under the deep influence of Jainism, he abdicated the throne having devolved the royal responsibilities on his son Dunduka. He then went to Magadhatīrtha and died there in V.S. 890, as has been referred to above. In the absence of specific information, we cannot determine the date of Āma's abdication. Tentatively it may be placed in the first quarter of the 9th century.

The Evidence of the Skandapurāṇa regarding Āma

The *Skanda Purāṇa* describes Āma as a paramount king of Kānyakubja. On the persuasion of a Buddhist monk, the people of his kingdom renounced the Vaiṣṇava faith and became followers of Buddhism; but later on they reverted to their original faith. Āma's daughter Ratnagaṅgā was married to Kumārapāla[1] who was originally a ruler of east Punjab, but later became the king of Moharapura. Kumārapāla had earlier been Āma's feudatory. D.C. Sircar rightly identifies Āma with the son of Yaśovarman,[2] because no other king of that name is known to have ever ruled in Kanauj. Thus this tradition mainly reflects sectarian rivalry of that period and adds little to the history of Āma.

Āma's Identification with Nāgabhaṭa II

F. Kielhorn,[3] D.R. Bhandarkar,[4] Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha,[5] R.C. Majumdar,[6] Dasharatha Sharma,[7] R.S. Tripathi,[8] K.M. Munshi[9] and B.N. Puri[10] identify Āma Nāgāvaloka of

1. *Skanda Purāṇa*, III, ii, 36, vv. 12-14, 35, 38-39, 46-48, 58.
2. D.C. Sircar, *Society and Admimistration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Part I, pp. 153-154.
3. *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 200.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 121, 126.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, note 3.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 101; *JDL*, Vol. X (1923), pp. 45-46; *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 27.
7. *JIH*, Vol. XXII, p. 99.
8. *HK*, p. 231.
9. *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 89.
10. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 48.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Jaina works with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. The arguments adduced by these scholars are as follows:

(i) The date V.S. 890 or 832-33 A.D. assigned to the death of Āma Nāgāvaloka in the Jaina works almost coincides with that of Nāgabhaṭa II.
(ii) Nāgabhaṭa II like Āma bore the title *Nāgāvaloka*.
(iii) The name of the grandson of both Āma and Nāgabhaṭa II was Bhoja.
(iv) Both the rulers were hostile towards king Dharma of Gauḍa.

Criticism of this Contention

This identification cannot be accepted on account of the following facts:

(i) The Jaina works unanimously describe Āma as the son of Yaśovarman.

They record in detail the history and events of Āma's reign, but there is not the slightest direct or indirect indication of his association with the Gurjara-Pratihāra family. On the other hand, these writers connect Yaśovarman and his successors with the family of Candragupta Maurya.[1]

(ii) There may not have been much gap[2] between the death of Āma and that of Nāgabhaṭa II; but the accession of the former took place more than forty years before that of the latter.[3] This precludes the possibility of their being one and the same ruler.

1. *Varyamaurya-mahāgotra-sambhūtasya-mahādyuteḥ*
Śrī-Candraguptabhūpāla-vaṁśamuktāmaṇiśriyaḥ
Kanyakubja Yaśovarmā-bhūpateḥ . . . Suyaśo-aṅgabhūtaḥ
(*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 314; *PC*, XI, vv. 46-47)
2. The presumption that Nāgabhaṭa II died in V.S. 890 is solely based on his identification with Āma. But this identity as has been discussed below, is not correct.
3. The Jaina works as we have noticed earlier, unanimously place Āma's accession between c. 749 A.D. and 753 A.D. But the commencement

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(iii) Nāgabhaṭa II has nowhere been mentioned as Āma and *vice versa*.

(iv) That *Nāgāvaloka* was the title of Nāgabhaṭa II is itself not beyond doubt and dispute.[1] And even if he had it, it was not his exclusive epithet.[2]

(v) Āma according to the Jaina works, patronised the poet Vākpati and the Jaina saint Bappabhaṭṭi. But they are not known to have been associated with Nāgabhaṭa II.

(vi) Āma's son was Dunduka, but the name of the son of

of the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II cannot be placed before the last decade of the 8th century. Thus M.K. Munshi places it in c. 793 A.D. (*Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 87), B.N. Puri in c. 800 A.D. (*History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 42) and R.S. Tripathi in c. 805 A.D. (*HK*, pp. 230-31).

1. The contention that Nāgabhaṭa II bore this title is based on the evidence of two inscriptions *viz.* the Pathāri pillar inscription of Parabala and the Harṣā stone inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja dated respectively in V.S. 917 and 1030. The former epigraph records that Karkarāja, father of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Parabala, had put to flight king Nāgāvaloka (*EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 250, 255, verse 14). In the latter record we are told that the Cāhamāna Gūvaka I, who flourished six generations before Vigraharāja (in whose reign the inscription was incised), was a distinguished hero in the assembly of king Nāgāvaloka (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 121, verse 12 and p. 126).

But there are certain difficulties in accepting this identification. In the first place, the portion of the Harṣa inscription intervening between *Nāga* and *loka* is mutilated. Kielhorn restores it to *Śrīmānnāgā* (*dya* ?) and translates it thus, "Gūvaka of the Cāhamāna family attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgās and the rest" (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 126). But he also adds that "originally undoubtedly *Śrīmānnāgāvaloka* was engraved, (and that) the *akṣara va* appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akṣara* which would suit the context appears to be *dya*. I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading (*dya*) is correct" (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 121, note 26). Others suggest the reading Nāgāvaloka (*IA*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57-64). Besides, none of these inscriptions mentions the dynasty of the so called Nāgāvaloka. These discrepancies have given rise to some controversy about the identification of this ruler. According to Krishnaswami Aiyangar, there is no direct evidence that Nāgabhaṭa II bore the title *Nāgāvaloka* (*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. III, p. 131). G.C. Choudhury follows him (*PHNI*, p. 24).

2. That Nāgabhaṭa I also assumed this epithet is borne out by the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nāgabhaṭa II was Rāmabhadra. The contention of B.N. Puri[1] that Dunduka may have been a *biruda* of Rāmabhadra, has nothing to commend it. Besides, the names of the mothers of Āma and his grandson Bhoja are also different from those of the mothers of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja.[2]

(vii) Nāgabhaṭa II's grandson Bhoja was one of the greatest rulers of his dynasty, but Āma's grandson was a parricide and an insignificant king. Apart from this, the Pratihāra Bhoja was a Vaiṣṇava;[3] whereas Āma's grandson was a zealous Jaina.

These arguments and evidences convincingly refute the identity of Āma with Nāgabhaṭa II; and therefore, the date of the latter's death which has hitherto been solely based on this identification, may be revised and placed about 825 A.D.[4]

Hansot inscription of Cāhamāna Bhartṛvardhana II, dated in V.S. 813 or 756 A.D. It records that a grant was made at Broach in the victorious reign of king Nāgāvaloka, the liegelord of Bhartṛvardhana II (*EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197, 200). Keeping in view the date of this inscription as well as the fact that the Cāhamānas were feudatories of the Pratihāras, it is very reasonable to identify king Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa I. Also see *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 179; *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 277 ff; *IA*, 1911, p. 240; *HK*, p. 228; A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 2.

The *avaloka*-ending epithets were peculiarly associated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. For example Dantidurga was *Khaḍgāvaloka*, Govinda II was *Vikramāvaloka*, and Stambha assumed the title *Raṇāvaloka*. A.S. Altekar while citing these instances, suggests that the Nāgāvaloka of the Pathāri pillar inscription may have been Amoghavarṣa himself (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 83).

1. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 48-49.
2. The name of the mother of Pratihāra Bhoja was Appadevī (*Ibid.*, p. 51); but the mother of Dunduka's son was Padmā.
3. *HK*, pp. 238, 247-248.
4. Also see K.M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, p. 93. It may be added that the only dated record of the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II, is the Buchkala inscription of 815 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 93; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200). But we do not possess any dated document of the time of Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II. As regards Rāmabhadra's son and successor Mihira Bhoja, his earliest known date is 836 A.D. (*EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 155 ff; *HK*, p. 237). Thus the date of the death of Nāgabhaṭa II, the reign period of Rāmabhadra, and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Other Views and their Evaluation

1. C.V. Vaidya connects Yaśovarman with Āyudha rulers, adding that Vajrāyudha was his grandson. According to him, the next king of this family was Cakrāyudha, and that Varma dynasty (to which Yaśovarman belonged) fell in 816 A.D. when Kanauj was captured by Nāgabhaṭa II.[1] Yaśovarman's connection with the Āyudha kings is not known from any record. His name-ending is *varman*, not *āyudha*. And the information of the Jaina works cited above, clearly rules out the possibility of any relationship between Yaśovarman and the Āyudhas.

2. According to S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Vajrāyudha and Indrāyudha were the names of Āma himself. He contends that upto the end of the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II, Kanauj was ruled by Yaśovarman's son Āma who very soon turned out Cakrāyudha and occupied it. Āma's son Dunduka ruled there for five years and was succeeded by his son Bhoja. In his opinion Kanauj was occupied by Mihira Bhoja, and not by any of his predecessors.[2] G.C. Choudhury[3] has plagiarized the views of Aiyangar.

The contention that Indrāyudha and Vajrāyudha were the names of Āma, is not supported by any evidence. Nor is it known from any record that Āma had an encounter with Cakrāyudha or any other ruler of Kanauj. Besides, the evidence of the Jaina sources and the political events of the period go against the hypothesis that Āma ruled in Kanauj throughout his life.[4]

3. Buddha Prakash identifies Āma with king Avantivarman

the date of the accession of Mihira Bhoja can be determined only approximately. The commencement of Mihira Bhoja's reign may be placed about 830 A.D. And Rāmabhadra who seems to have had a short reign, may have ruled from c. 825 A.D. to 830 A.D. These dates do not clash with any event of that period.

1. *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 340-341.
2. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, pp. 128-130.
3. *PHNI*, pp. 24-28.
4. We have already discussed that Āma in all probability lost his hold over Kanauj about 770 A.D. or little later, and thereafter he transferred his headquarters to Gwalior.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mentioned in an inscription found at Ranod in the former state of Gwalior. This Avantivarman according to him, ruled in Gwalior in the later part of the 8th century A.D. He also identifies Āma's son Dunduka with Dṛḍhavarman who is referred to in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana Sūri as a king of Ayodhya. Buddha Prakash adds that the occupation of Kanauj by the Āyudhas in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. (when the *Kuvalayamālā* was completed and when Dṛḍhavarman was ruling at Ayodhya), may have been the cause of the shifting of the capital from Kanauj to Ayodhya. The basis of connecting Dṛḍhavarman with Yaśovarman's family is the common termination *varman* of their names.[1] The views of Buddha Prakash are untenable for the following reasons:

(i) There is absolutely no ground for the assumption that Avantivarman was the real name of Yaśovarman's son, and that Āma was his surname.

(ii) The dates assigned to the reign of Avantivarman are purely tentative and not definite.[2]

(iii) Nor can we identify Dunduka with Dṛḍhavarman of the *Kuvalayamālā*. For in the first place, even the historicity of Dṛḍhavarman cannot be established in the present state of our knowledge. Secondly, the name of Dṛḍhavarman's son according to the *Kuvalayamālā*, was Kuvalayacandra;[3] whereas Dunduka's son was Bhoja. Dṛḍhavarman and Kuvalayacandra appear to be legendary rulers.

(iv) As regards the name-ending *varman*, it was very common with the rulers of several dynasties of both north and south India, and their examples are too numerous to be cited here.

(v) Equally unfounded is the contention that Yaśovarman's successors had transferred their capital from Kanauj to Ayodhya. For, the accounts of the Jaina works clearly show that Āma had shifted his headquarters

1. *AIHC*, pp. 113-116.
2. See *ibid.*, pp. 113 ff; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 213.
3. *Mahārāyāhirāya-paramesara-siri-Daḍhavammaṇandaṇa kumāra-Kuvalayacanda* (*Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 154-155).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to Gwalior and not to Ayodhya, where he ruled till the end. There is no indication of Ayodhya being the capital of any successor of Yaśovarman.

Dunduka and Bhoja

Dunduka who succeeded Āma in Gwalior, became a *parama-Arhat* and followed *Trivarga*. He did not take interest in the discharge of his royal duties. Dunduka also indulged in debauchery and neglected his queen Padmā.[1] Moreover, he was, however, hostile towards his son Bhoja born of Padmā and made several futile attempts to kill him. Bhoja retaliated and killed him in his (Dunduka's) royal court at Kanauj. Dunduka's subjects as well as high officials who had joined hands with Bhoja, placed him (Bhoja) on the throne of Kanauj.[2] Bhoja, too, became a *parama* Jaina,[3] and he either retired from the royal life after a short rule, or was deposed by the Pratihāras.

The above information of the Jaina works regarding Dunduka and Bhoja is brief, vague and rather confusing at certain places. Therefore, the reconstruction of the history of their reigns is very difficult. The Jaina writers would have us believe that Dunduka succeeded Āma in Gwalior and ruled there for some time. But later on he managed to capture Kanauj where he was slain by his son Bhoja. The parricide then became the king of Kanauj. Here it is necessary to make a brief mention of the history of Gwalior and Kanauj during the period. As regards the former, it was most probably annexed by Nāgabhaṭa II to the Pratihāra empire.[4] The history of Kanauj from the end of the rule of Cakrāyudha to the commencement of that of Mihira Bhoja is obscure. And there is no clear evidence

1. *Prabandhakośa*, pp. 43-44.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46; *PC*, XI, vv. 733-765; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 324.
3. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 45.
4. Gwalior definitely formed part of the Pratihāra empire in the time of Rāmabhadra (*EI*, Vol. I, pp. 154-155; *JRAS*, 1904, p. 646; *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 26 ff; *HK*, p. 237; Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, pp. 94-95). But in view of his short and uneventful reign during which Pratihāra power suffered a definite decline (see *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 28; Puri, *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 49-50), the conquest of Gwalior may be attributed to Nāgabhaṭa II.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of its being the capital of the Pratihāras before the time of Mihira Bhoja.[1] If the information of the Jaina works is correct, then Dunduka may be believed to have occupied Kanauj during the weak reign of Rāmabhadra and ruled there for some time. The reign of Bhoja, too, might have been very short. However, no notable achievement has been attributed to Dunduka or Bhoja; and the events of their reigns may properly be reconstructed only when new evidence comes to light.

1. *JRAS*, 1904, p. 647; *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, pp. 128-130.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

5

Kingship, Administrative Organisation and Judicial System

The political thought, administrative organisation and judicial system of the time of the Imperial Guptas and Harṣa, broadly continued in the period under review. And there was hardly any appreciable development or decline in the political institutions.[1] Bhavabhūti has presented Rāma as an ideal ruler making all possible efforts and sacrifices for the welfare and appeasement of his subjects. Probably keeping in view the state of political disintegration and the threat posed by the Arab invasions, Bhavabhūti has expressly emphasised the idea of imperialism and king's duty of the protection of the country. Asahāya and Haribhadra furnish valuable information on the judicial system of the period.

KINGSHIP

Our sources throw light on the following aspects of kingship:

Education of the King

A prince before shouldering the royal responsibilities acquired theoretical knowledge of and practical training in

1. According to V.A. Smith (*EHI*, p. 371) and Beni Prasad (*SAI*, p. 387), no evolution took place in the political ideas and institutions in the post-Harṣa period. And K.P. Jayaswal holds that "The period after 700 A.C., is a period of darkness and disruption. Popular institutions decayed and Hindu traditions dwindled (*Hindu Polity*, p. 365). These views are not endorsed by the evidence furnished by our sources.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

several branches of education and learning. Bhavabhūti informs us that after their tonsure ceremony, princes Kuśa and Lava were taught three *vidyās*, and that when their initiation ceremony was performed, they studied the *Vedas*.[1] Here three *vidyās* appear to refer to *ānvīkṣikī* (metaphysics or logic), *vārtā* (economics) and *daṇḍanīti*[2] (polity). Vīrarāghava, however, holds that these *vidyās* denote *āyurveda* (science of medicine), *dhanurveda* (science of archery) and *gāndharvaveda* (science of music).[3] And Ghanaśyāma includes *akṣarābhyāsa* (learning of the alphabet), *khuralīvihāra* (military exercise or practice) and *vāhanāyudhaśikṣā* (training in the use of vehicles, weapons and horse riding etc.) in these *vidyās*.[4] But in some editions of the *Uttararāmacarita*, the word *tistraḥ* has been replaced by the phrase *itarā vidyāḥ*.[5] In that case, the word *itarāḥ* meaning other *vidyās* may be taken to denote any number of subjects.

Haribhadra[6] mentions sixtyfour subjects in connection with the education of prince Guṇacandra. In the *Kuvalayamālā* we are told that when prince Kuvalayacandra was eight years old, he was entrusted to a *lekhācārya* who made him master of seventytwo arts in four years. Kuvalayacandra is also stated to have attained theoretical knowledge of the eighteen breeds of horses with their characteristic features, and was well trained in horse riding.[7] But these long lists consisting of sixtyfour and seventytwo subjects are obviously theoretical, pointing as they do the development of the various branches of learning, rather than acquainting us with princely curriculum. And the princes probably generally studied only four traditional *vidyās* with special emphasis on *daṇḍanīti* or polity and military

1. *Nirvṛttacaulakarmaṇostayostrayīvarjamitarāstistrovidyāḥ-sāvadhānena pariniṣṭhāpitaḥ. Tadanantaram ekādaśe varṣe-kṣātreṇa kalpenopanīyatrayīvidyāmadhyāpitau* (*URC*, II, p. 53).
2. The study of four *vidyās viz. ānvīkṣikī*, *trayī*, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti* was prescribed for the princes (*Kāmandaka*, II, vv. 2, 5-6). Also see *URC*, Kane's edition, notes, p. 54.
3. *URC*, Nirṇaya Sagar Press ed. II, p. 53.
4. *Ibid.*, Kane's edition, II, p. 35.
5. *URC*, Kane's edition, II, notes, pp. 54-55.
6. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VIII, pp. 602-603.
7. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 21-24. The lists of these subjects have been given in chapter VI, under 'Subjects of Study'.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

sciences. Those who had a literary aptitude, could learn a few more subjects but not as many as enumerated by Haribhadra or Udyotana.

Coronation Ceremony

After receiving requisite education and attaining majority, a prince was generally formally coronated. From the Jaina works we learn that Yaśovarman had coronated his son Āma in the closing days of his life.[1] And Bhavabhūti gives the following description of Rāma's coronation ceremony (*rājyābhiṣeka* or *paṭṭābhiṣeka*):[2]

"Rāma together with Sītā was seated on a bejewelled throne by the royal *Purohita* Vaśiṣṭha and ministers etc.[3] Thereafter, he was coronated with the sacred waters collected from the rivers and the seas. Then he put on costly robes, ornaments and the crown, and offered respects to lord Śiva and other gods with the recitation of the Vedic mantras. Auspicious songs, dance and showers of flowers added to the eclat of the people. It was followed by the blessings and instructions given to Rāma by different deities. Thus Śiva said: 'O Rāma, your deeds are wonderful indeed. You have saved the world from a great crisis; the people and the world appear to have taken a new birth; and from today, bear the responsibility of the protection of the people in accordance with the instructions given by Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.' Then Brahmā instructed him thus: 'You together with Lakṣmaṇa, should toil for the welfare and happiness of the people, being devoted to truth and *dharma*.' Indra added, 'You should perform *Vājpeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices befitting a ruler.' Lastly Daśaratha asked Rāma to act always according to the advice of the royal *Purohitas* Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra."[4] Bhavabhūti also makes a very brief mention of the coronation of Vibhīṣaṇa, and the only important information given in this context is the reference to the

1. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 28; *PC*, XI, vv. 76-77.
2. *MVC*, VII, p. 216.
3. Bhavabhūti has used the phrase *prakṛtivarga* which has been explained by Vīrarāghava as *amātyādisamūhaḥ* (*Ibid.*, VII, p. 217).
4. *MVC*, VII, pp. 220-222.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

release of the wives of the gods from the prison on that occasion.[1]

Haribhadra adds a few new details while describing the coronation ceremony of prince Ānanda. He records that an auspicious day was fixed for it; and a pair of fish, a full jar, white flowers, white mustards, the lump of earth, a big pot full of curds, big jewels, yellow pigments from the cow, the hide of a lion, a white umbrella, a good seat, chowries, dūrva grass, fine wine, a big flag, the rut of an elephant and silk clothes etc., were brought. The details which were to follow are not mentioned as the prince occupied the throne before the coronation ceremony could take place, having put his father into prison.[2] In the Khalimpur grant we are told that the king of Kānyakubja was coronated by the elders of Pāñcāla *deśa*, with the water contained in golden jars.[3] Almost similar description is found in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*[4] and *Kuvalayamālā*.[5]

According to Altekar, "The coronation ceremony underwent considerable changes after about the 8th century A.D. The *Vājapeya* sacrifice, the chariot race and the oblations at the houses of the *ratnins* were . . . omitted as a natural consequence of the disappearance of the Vedic culture. Instead the besmearing of the king's body with several auspicious types of earth-dusts and his bath with the waters of several sacred rivers became very important. What is constitutionally very significant is that the ceremony no longer contained any oath to be taken by the king . . ."[6]

These observations are not wholly correct, for most of these changes had been made in the coronation ceremony long before[7] the period suggested by Altekar. Secondly, the Vedic culture never disappeared. And Bhavabhūti who was himself an orthodox Vedic Brāhmaṇa, expressly advocated the import-

1. *MVC*, VII, pp. 220-221.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), II, pp. 128-130.
3. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 252, verse 12.
4. *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, VI, 44.
5. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 200.
6. *SGAI*, pp. 78-79.
7. See *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 73 ff; K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 194 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ance of the Vedic rituals[1] and included the performance of the *Vājapeya* and the *Aśvamedha* sacrifices in the instructions given to the king elect at the time of his coronation.

The notable features of the coronation ceremony which are unanimously found in all contemporary sources, are the *abhiṣeka* of the prince with sacred waters brought from several reservoirs, and the omission of the oath. Notwithstanding Jayaswal's contention to the contrary,[2] these features, too, had been introduced in the coronation ceremony long before the age under review.[3] In fact the *abhiṣeka* had lost much of its constitutional sanctity ever since the position of the king had become very strong.

Virtues and Vices of the King

Holding such an exalted office, a king was supposed to have certain virtues and merits. In Bhavabhūti's works, king Rāma appears as an abode of all virtues,[4] and Vākpati describes the conduct of Yaśovarman as noble[5] and pious,[6] adding that the rulers are generally the custodians of good qualities.[7] The character and conduct of the king were believed to have great bearing on the state and its people. Therefore, when Rāma was informed about the sudden demise of a Brāhmaṇa boy, he said, "No premature death can occur amongst the subjects without some fault of the king."[8]

As regards the vices and weaknesses of the kings, Bhavabhūti alludes to rudeness, lethargy and lechery. He illustrates

1. See chapter VII, under 'Vedic Religion and Rituals'.
2. Jayaswal contends that "The oath was deemed to be the essential sacrament down to later Muhammadan times . . . The modifications (in the period later than that of the Brāhmaṇas) are many and considerable. But the coronation oath is the oath of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and Hindu lawyers did register it in spite of their medieval ideals of kingship." Jayaswal has quoted *Rājanīti Vīramitrodaya* in support of his view (*Hindu Polity*, p. 221, note 26).
3. See *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 73 ff, for earlier references.
4. *MVC*, I, 26, V, vv. 47-48; *URC*, II, p. 77, VI, 10.
5. *GV*, 1013.
6. *Ibid.*, 1209.
7. *GV*, 859.
8. *URC*, II, p. 57.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

them with the example of Rāvaṇa whose impolite behaviour had exposed him to odium.[1] Rāvaṇa was ravished with the beauty of Sītā at a time when he must have kept a wary eye on the impending danger of Rāma's invasion.[2] He took delight in overestimating his own prowess and in underrating that of his opponent.[3] These weaknesses led to his fall. Haribhadra also makes mention of a mythical monarch named Guṇasena who was defeated by king Mānabhaṅga mainly because of his inadvertence.[4] Following Manu[5] and Kāmandaka,[6] Bhāruci includes hunting, drinking and gambling in the vices of the rulers.[7] But Bhavabhūti, however, describes hunting as a lawful duty of the kings.[8] And Udyotana being a Jaina naturally holds that a king with his hunting paraphernalia only earns the sin.[9] Whatever be the recommendations of the *Dharmaśāstras* and other authorities, hunting was a favourite pastime of the kings.

His Responsibilities and Functions

Among the functions of the king, protection of the country

1. *MVC*, VI, p. 199.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 203.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, 10, pp. 204-206.
4. *Samarā* (Modi), I, p. 27. Also see *Jānakī*, X, 34; *Agni P.*, XXV, 15.
5. *Manu*, VII, 50.
6. *Kāmandaka*, I, 56. Also see *Agni P.*, CCXXV, 4.
7. *Pāna-dyūtayoḥ pānaṁ gariyaḥ; tatra hi saṁjñā-pranāśaḥ anunmatasyonmmattava (mapreta) sya pretatvaṁ śruta-prajñā-prahāṇaṁ mitra-hāniḥ sadbhir viyogaḥ asadbhiśca prayogaḥ; gītādisu cārtha-svapneṣu prasaṅgaḥ; rahasya-mantra-prakāśaṁ, mada-vegeneti pāna dosāḥ; dyūte jitam evākṣa-viduṣā anakṣa-jñāsyāpi pakṣikaḥ parājayaḥ; dyūta-strī-vyasanayośca dyūtaṁ gariyaḥ; yena tadaiva jitadravyaḥ tasyāpi bhavati, tathā tan-nimitto vairānau-bandhaḥ jayaḥ sādhāraṇaḥ kevalaḥ parājayaḥ anubhakta-naśaḥ; mūtra-purīṣa-vega-dhāraṇācca śarīrā-tantra-śaithilyaṁ vyādhi-nidānam āsevanena kṣudrādibhiścapīḍatiśayena; mātaryapi ca mṛtāyām dīvyatyeva kitavaḥ . . . . suhṛdbhirapi kupyatīti dyūta-doṣāḥ . . . . strī-mṛga-vyasanayoḥ strī-vyasanaṁ gariyaḥ; adarśanaṁ kāryāṇām, strī-vyasanāsaṅgeṣu rāja-kāryeṣu nirvedaḥ; kālāltipātanaṁ, dharmalopaḥ, ... mṛgavāyām tu vyāyāma-pitta-sleṣma-vadhaḥ svedādināśaḥ; cāle sthire ca kāye lakṣa-paricayaḥ; praharaṇa-vaiśāradyopajananena āsana-paricayaśceti* (On Manu, VII, 50, *ZDMG*, Band 115-Heft I, 1965, pp. 141-143)
8. *Mṛgayā ca rājñām dharma eva, MVC*, VI, p. 204.
9. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 217, Part II, Introduction, p. 50.

CC-0. Adamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and *dharma* and propitiation of the people find most prominent mention in the works of Bhavabhūti. In the *Mahāvīracarita*, king Rāma is stated to have become as if the manifestation of the science of arms (*kāyavānastraveda*) and *kṣātradharma*, for the protection of the world.[1] Vākpati[2] also records that the oppressed Earth sought support of Yaśovarman for her own safety as well as for that of the *dharma*; and that he like Lord Varāha protected both. In the Nālandā inscription too, Yaśovarman is described as an illustrious protector of the world (*khyāto yolokapālaḥ*).[3]

The ideal of *prajānurañjana* (*i.e.*, propitiation of the people) has been edified in the *Uttararāmacarita*. Bhavabhūti tells us that soon after being installed on the throne king Rāma received the following message from sage Aṣṭāvakra: 'You are only a boy and your regime is new. Work devotedly for the happiness of your subjects; and the glory arising therefrom is your highest wealth.'[4] In response to this message, Rāma proclaimed, 'I shall gladly part with affection, mercy, comforts and even my beloved Jānakī for the satisfaction of my subjects.'[5] He adhered to his assertion and banished his innocent wife only because the people wanted it.[6] It may be pointed out here that the above-mentioned message of Aṣṭāvakra is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bhavabhūti further records that Rāma as a king had manifold troubles. While in his capital, he was too much engrossed in multifarious duties conducive to the prosperity of the country, to find time for any distraction.[7] And Sītā was only pleased to see that king Rāma was not remiss in his royal responsibilities.[8] Vākpati also observes, 'Not to say of (the life of) the kings who are always subservient to their duty towards their subjects.'[9]

1. *Trātum lokāniva pariṇataḥ kāyavānastravedaḥ*
   Kṣātro dharmaḥ śrita iva tanum brahma-kośasya guptyai (*MVC*, II, 41)
2. *GV*, 1063.
3. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
4. *Jāmātṛyajñenavayaṁ niruddhāstvaṁ bāla evāsi navaṁ ca rājyam*
   Yuktaḥ prajānāmanurañjanesyāstasmādyaśo yatparamaṁ dhanaṁ vaḥ
   (*URC*, I, II).
5. *Ibid.*, I, 12.
6. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 43-45.
7. *Ibid.*, III, p. 69 and verse 30.
8. *Ibid.*, III, p. 72.
9. *GV*, 903.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Such ideals though frequently advocated, were seldom emulated by the rulers. The position of the king had become very strong long before the age under review. According to Asahāya, the king was independent of his subjects,[1] and that his decision even though wrong, could not be tried anew.[2] Bhāruci also makes a similar comment.[3] However, the conscientious kings always toiled hard for the benefit of their state and subjects; and the public interest could not be wholly ignored even by the strongest sovereigns. Otherwise, people could resort to revolt.

Divinity

The concept of king's divinity which developed in the post-Vedic period and received an impetus from the Kuṣāṇas,[4] became more manifested in the post-Gupta and later periods. Bhavabhūti[5] and Vākpati[6] address the rulers as '*deva*'. And 'when the *avatāra* theory became popular, kings began to be regarded as incarnation of gods'[7] on account of their functional similarity. Thus Yaśovarman is mentioned as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa (*kansāri sarūva-dhāriṇo*) who alone survived the destruction of the world,[8] and is compared to Lord Hari who obtained Lakṣmī after churning the ocean.[9] He has also been described as (an incarnation of) Keśava (*sa-esa-Kesavo*).[10] King Dhrubhaṭa is referred to Janārdana incarnate on account of humbling the pride of the wicked.[11]

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 50, on verse 32.
2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 7, on verse 11.
3. *JAOS*, Vol. 84, No. 4, p. 394.
4. *SGAI*, pp. 90 ff.
5. *MVC*, VII, p. 308; *URC*, III, p. 78, VI, p. 147.
6. *GV*, 1120.
7. *SGAI*, p. 91.
8. *GV*, 181.
9. *Ibid.*, 1039. These comparisons probably point to Yaśovarman's efforts for carving out a kingdom in the period of political confusion that had engulfed the Madhyadeśa before his rise.
10. *Ibid.*, 1045.
11. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 179.

CC-0. Adhmigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Titles

Yaśovarman is referred to as *śrī*,[1] *narapati*[2] and *mahendra*,[3] while Lalitāditya is called *śrī* and *rājā*.[4] Bhavabhūti has used the title *mahārāja* for Rāma[5] and Rāvaṇa[6] though both have been presented as world conquerors. Kumāradāsa[7] and Haribhadra[8] also give respectively the titles *narendra* and *mahārāja* to *cakravarti* emperors. In the *Kuvalayamālā*, king Dṛḍhavarman of Ayodhya[9] is described as *mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*. Jīvitagupta II of Magadha,[10] Śivadeva of Nepal,[11] Maurya king Dhavala or Dhavalappadeva[12] and all the rulers of Valabhī from Dharasena IV onwards, styled themselves *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*.[13]

These instances clearly show that the titles of the kings did not necessarily indicate their actual imperial status. For, Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya who were the greatest kings in northern India in the age under survey, have been given unpretentious titles, whereas Jīvitagupta II, Jayavardhana II, Śivadeva and Dhavala, whose imperial status was inferior to that of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya assumed much higher titles. Literary works, however, generally gave simple titles even to universal monarchs unlike the imposing ones met with in the epigraphs.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

"Administration became more or less stereotyped after c. 500 A.D."[14] The data from the latter half of the 7th century to the

1. *GV*, 99; *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
2. *GV*, 1204.
3. *Ibid.*, 99.
4. *RT*, IV, 126.
5. *URC*, I, p. 11.
6. *MVC*, VI, p. 255.
7. *Jānakī*, I, 25.
8. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 70.
9. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 154.
10. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 216.
11. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 176.
12. Vide *CA*, p. 160.
13. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 183, 185, 187.
14. *SGAI*, p. 351. Also see N.C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, Part II, p. 227.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

11th century show that there could be some variations in the number, size and sphere of administrative departments, but there was no change of first-rate importance, or organic evolution in the period.[1]

Bhavabhūti presents Rāma as an ideal king[2] whose rule was based on democratic principles.[3] He is shown making all efforts for the welfare and appeasement of his subjects.[4] He was always guided by the dictates of *dharma* and the sacred law.[5] But Bhavabhūti also shows his awareness of the real position of the ruler; and like Vākpati,[6] Bhāruci,[7] Asahāya[8] and Udyotana,[9] he seems to have supported the idea of the unquestionable authority of the king.[10]

Central Administration

Like earlier periods, king was the head of the state wielding supreme authority over the civil, military, judicial and executive departments. The paraphernalia of his court generally consisted of ministers, chief of the army, royal *Purohita*, physician, poet-laureate, astrologers[11] and several other officials. Royal palace was guarded by the male as well as female door-keepers (*pratihāras* and *pratihāris*) who had *mahāpratihāra*[12] as their chief. The brothers[13] and sons[14] of the king, besides many officers

1. *SAI*, p. 387.
2. *MVC*, IV, 44, V, vv. 30, 48, VII, 41.
3. Rāma was in an easy access to his subjects and that he fully respected their wishes whatever be its cost and consequences (see *URC*, Acts II and III).
4. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 69, 86.
5. *MVC*, VII, 35; *URC*, III, 30. Also see *MM*, X, 25; *GV*, vv. 67, 248, for a similar idea.
6. *GV*, 715.
7. *JAOS*, Vol. 84, No. 4, p. 394.
8. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 7, on verse 11.
9. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 73.
10. Bhavabhūti describes Rāma's rule as relentless and adds that his authority was to be respected by all (*MVC*, IV, 24). See also *Ibid.*, IV, 31, for Daśaratha's rule.
11. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 16.
12. *MVC*, VI, pp. 206 ff; Alīnā copper plate, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 190, note 1-3.
13. *MVC*, VII, vv. 15, 40.
14. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 217-218.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of various ranks variously assisted him in the task of administration. But ministers occupied the most responsible and privileged position and they shouldered much of their master's onerous duties in carrying on the government.

Our sources refer to *mahāmātya*,[1] *mahā-mantrī*,[2] *amātya*,[3] *mantrī*[4] and *saciva*.[5] The first two designations stood for the chief minister; the last three terms were generally used as synonyms; but sometimes they denoted different categories of ministers.[6] In the *Mālatīmādhava*, *amātya* Devarāta is mentioned as the crest-jewel of all eminent leaders,[7] while the feet of *amātya* Bhūrivasu are stated to have been tinged with the pollen of the garlands of all feudatories.[8] In these instances *amātya* seems to refer to the chief minister. It may also be pointed out that Devarāta is called *mantrī*[9] at one place and *amātya*[10] at another. And Mālyavān who appears to have been Rāvaṇa's chief minister as well as foreign minister, is also mentioned as *amātya*.[11] Thus Bhavabhūti has used the terms *mantrī*, *amātya* and *saciva* as synonyms without specifying their difference. In the *Kuvalayamālā*, the word *mantrī* has been used as a general term for all categories of ministers.[12]

Bhavabhūti, however, makes mention of only one minister in connection with one state. Haribhadra refers to the cabinet of ministers (*mantri-maṇḍala*)[13] without referring to the number or portfolios. In the *Kuvalayamālā* we are told that the cabinet of king Dṛḍhavarman of Ayodhya consisted of eight members

1. The Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva dated c. 736 A.D., *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 155.
2. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 32.
3. *MM*, II, p. 48, VI, p. 111.
4. Nālandā stone inscription, *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
5. *MVC*, VI, p. 245.
6. See *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 104 ff.
7. *MM*, II, p. 48.
8. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 125.
9. *Ibid.*, I, p. 8.
10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 48.
11. *MVC*, II, p. 64.
12. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 9, 25.
13. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 128.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

viz., *mantrin*, *mahā narendra*, *mahāvīra*, *mahā vaidya*, *mahā-Brāhmaṇa*, *mahā kavi*, *mahā senāpati* and *mahā purohita*.[1] Kāmandaka[2] quotes Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas according to whom the cabinet comprised twelve, sixteen and twenty ministers respectively. However, the strength of the ministry largely depended on the size of a state.

In the 7th and later centuries, the position of the chief minister appears to have become more prominent than before;[3] and that he was generally held in high esteem.[4] The cooperation between the king and his ministers particularly the chief minister was very essential, and the competence of the former generally mattered more. This has been illustrated with the example of Rāvaṇa and his minister Mālyavān, in the *Mahāvīracarita*.[5] There was no high degree of specialization for ministers[6] and the chief minister or any competent minister

1. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 16.
2. *Kāmandaka*, XVII, 48.
3. *SAI*, p. 365.
4. In the *Mālatīmādhava* we are told that the feet of the minister Bhūrivasu were touched by all the feudatories (*MM*, VI, p. 136). From the *Samarāiccakahā* we learn that king Puruṣadatta consulted his chief minister in all affairs not excepting the private ones (*Samarā* (Modi), II, pp. 123-125). The *Kuvalayamālā* refers to the chief minister (*mahāmantrī*) Vāsava of king Puraṅdaradatta of Kauśāmbī. He (Vāsava) has been compared to Bṛhaspati in learning. The king respected him like a god, teacher, father, friend and brother. On account of his cooperation, Puraṅdaradatta ruled over the earth happily and smoothly (*Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 32). In the Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva dated c. 736 A.D. the chief minister (*mahāmātya*) Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa is mentioned to have been an associate of his king in the fulfilment of the latter's duties (*IA*, Vol. XII, p. 155). The *Caca-Nāmā* refers to minister Kaksa who assisted Muhammad ibn-Kāsim in his all undertakings. Kāsim called him Mubarak-Mushir *i.e.*, prosperous counsellor (*HS*, Vol. I, p. 106).
5. The *Mahāvīracarita* presents Rāvaṇa as a libidinous and lethargic ruler, inadvertent towards state affairs; and his minister Mālyavān was a shrewd diplomat, sincerely devoted to his duties. But in spite of his best efforts, he failed to avert the fall of his lord. And he observes, "The fanatic rulers act according to their vagaries and the minister has to think of the remedies (of their doings) and bear the consequences arising therefrom. The office of a minister, he adds, is really a source of great trouble (*MVC*, VI, p. 199).
6. See also *Wonder that was India*, p. 100.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

could hold more than one offices.[1]

As regards the qualifications of ministers, our records refer to noble lineage,[2] tested honesty,[3] virtuous conduct[4] and proficiency in scriptures and polity.[5] Bhāruci illustrates with examples his comments on the four trials[6] *viz.*, *dharmopadhā*, *kāmopadhā*, and *bhayopadhā* prescribed for ministers.

1. Yaśovarman's Turkish minister Tikina was also incharge of the north-western border of his dominions as well as the superintendent of trade-routes (*mārgapateḥ-pratīta-Tikino-udīcīpatermaṅtriṇaḥ*, *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45).
2. *MM*, I, p. 8: *Jānakī*, X, 35; Alīnā copper plate, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 190.
3. *Jānakī*, X, 37.
4. *MM*, II, 9.
5. Rāvaṇa's minister Mālyavān has been presented as a shrewd diplomat, well versed in polity (*MVC*, II, pp. 64-70, IV, pp. 143-156, VI, pp. 244-253). Haribhadra (*Samarā* (Modi), I, p. 23) and Udyotana (*Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 16) make mention of ministers who were unparellel in their knowledge of scriptures and polity.
6. (i) Pretending to be angry with the king on account of being rebuked by him, a royal *Purohita* should go to all the ministers one by one and say: 'This king is unrighteous. Let us instal a new one who is righteous, monogamous and of a noble family . . . Other ministers are also of this very opinion. What is your opinion about it?' The minister who refuted all charges (against the king) and disagreed to such proposals was to be considered as *dharmopadhāśuddha*.

   (ii) On being reproached by the king for having taken a bribe, a chief of the army offering a lot of money to the ministers through his reliable men, should secretly negotiate with every one of them to bring about the fall of the king. One who rejected the offer (of money) was to be taken as *arthopadhāśuddha*.

   (iii) Some trusted *Parivrājika* should go to the royal harem and after returning therefrom, he should tell the ministers one by one: 'The queen has passionate feelings for you, and she has also made arrangements to meet you.' There is some lacuna in the subsequent part of the text. On the basis of the preceding contents it may be inferred that something conveying the sense that (if a minister was not lured by such information, he was to be regarded as *kāmopadhāśuddha*) might have been there.

   (iv) Some trusted person should whisper as follows in the ears of every minister: 'Having heard this scandal (not specified) about you, the king has decided to punish you.' One who was not afraid of it, was to be taken as *bhayopadhāśuddha* (On Manu, VII, 54, *ZDMG*, Band 115-Heft I, 1965, pp. 145-146).

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The office of the royal *Purohita* had lost its importance long before the age under review.[1] Bhavabhūti describes him as protector of the state (*rāṣṭragopa*) adding that under the sceptre of a learned Brāhmaṇa *Purohita*, the kingdom was not visited by any calamity. Nor did it decay.[2] He further states that the king was not to do any work without consulting his royal chaplain.[3] But Bhavabhūti's account in this context should be regarded as conventional, repeating the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age, rather than as an evidence of the enhanced importance of the office of the royal *Purohita*.[4] In the *Mālatīmādhava*, there is no mention of the *Purohita*, and only ministers figure prominently therein.

Among other categories of ministers, we get references to *narmasaciva*[5] (pleasure-minister whose duty was to please his king), and *Kumārāmātya*[6] (minister to the princes).[7] It may be added that the foreigners were also appointed as ministers[8] and other high officials.[9]

Provincial and District Administration

Big kingdoms were generally split into provinces where either a prince or some other important officer was appointed. The *Samarāiccakahā* records that the king of Acalapura had made his son Samaraketu, the viceroy of Ujjain.[10] That competent

1. *SGAI*, pp. 169-170.
2. *MVC*, III, 18.
3. *Ibid*, VII, p. 223.
4. *Purohita* occupied a pre-eminent position in the Vedic and post-Vedic periods. But from c. 200 A.D., he ceased to be a member of the cabinet, and in later times he only exercised moral influence on the king (*SGAI*, pp. 169-170).
5. *MM*, II, 7.
6. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 218.
7. *SGAI*, p. 345. It has also been interpreted as high official below a provincial governor (*HDS*, Vol. III, p. 180). Basham holds that it was a title of honour (*Wonder that was India*, p. 100). For details see *PAIOC*, 6th session, pp. 211 ff.
8. Yaśovarman appointed a Turkish chief called Tikina as his minister (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45).
9. Lalitāditya appointed Turki-Shāhis on several important administrative posts (*RT*, IV, vv. 142-143).
10. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VI, p. 467.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

provincial governors sometimes held more than one offices is borne out by the Nālandā inscription which tells us that Yaśovarman's Turkish minister Tikina was also incharge of the north-western border of his kingdom (*udīcīpati*) and superintendent of trade-routes (*mārgapati*).[1]

The districts (*viṣayas*) were governed by the officers called *viṣayapatis*.[2] In the Lakṣmaṇeśvara pillar inscription, of c. 725 A.D. we were told that the house taxes were anually paid to the governors of the district through the guild of the town[3] according to the rules of the municipal constitution.

City Administration

As for city administration, Bhavabhūti casually refers to the city-guards[4] and to the announcement of time by the beating of the drum,[5] in connection with the administration of the capital city Padmāvatī. That the elders of the town (*nagaramahanta*) played an important role in the city administration is evidenced by the account of the *Samarāiccakahā*. It records that the chariots of Dharaṇa and Devanandin met at the narrow city gate of Mākaṇḍī on the occasion of the *Madanamahotsava*, and when neither withdrew his chariot, the whole traffic was blocked. Then the four elders (*cariya*) of the town who were clever in putting their say nicely; who were well-versed in religious and worldly ways; advanced in their age; well settled on the side of duty and respected by the people of the town, were called. They settled the matter with the consent of the citizens.[6] This story gives interesting information regarding the influence, qualifications and functions of the elders of the city, in its administration. They also cooperated with the police in dealing with the law and order situation in the city.[7] The Lakṣmaṇeśvara pillar inscription refers to the municipal constitution according to

1. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.
2. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 216.
3. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 190.
4. *MM*, VIII, p. 166.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 157.
6. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 7-11.
7. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 190.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

which every household was to pay the tax to the guild of the town. The rates of taxation for the highest, intermediate, lower and the lowest were ten, seven, five and three *paṇas* respectively.

Village Administration

Village was the smallest unit of the administrative machinery. Bhāruci explains *saṁvida* as the *samiti* of villagers whose functions included the protection of tanks and pasture-grounds, and renovation of temples. He adds that the king could exile from his kingdom that member of the *saṁvida* who resorted to transgression.[1] Udyotana makes mention of the village elders (*grāma-mahattara*) and their chief (*jyeṣṭha-mahāmahattara*) who are said to have analysed the treacherous act of Māyāditya and asked him to dip in the Gaṅgā and die there fasting for washing the stain of his sin.[2] The Nausārī plates of Pulakeśirāja make mention of the headmen of the villages.[3] In the Deo-Barṇārk inscription we get a reference to '*talavāṭaka*' which has been translated by Bhagwan Lal Indraji as 'village accountant'.[4] But this interpretation is doubtful.[5] Haribhadra refers to a lord of village having a powerful army.[6]

Espionage

Espionage had become a highly developed institution by the time of Manu and Kauṭilya.[7] Bhavabhūti frequently refers to the activities of expert spies.[8] From the *Uttararāmacarita* we learn that Rāma after being installed as a king, dispatched his personal attendant (*āsannaparicara*) Durmukha to acquaint himself with the feelings of the people regarding his new regime.[9] And Durmukha after making an enquiry reported to

1. On Manu, VIII, 219. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 9.
2. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 63; Part II, Introduction, p. 31.
3. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 144.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217, note 4.
5. Also see *HDS*, Vol. III, p. 985; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 217, note 8.
6. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 17.
7. Vide U.N. Ghoshal, *Ancient Indian Political Thought*, p. 480.
8. *MVC*, V, p. 197.
9. *URC*, I, p. 40.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

him that his subjects were suspicious of Sītā's conduct on account of her prolonged stay at Laṅkā.[1] In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Rāvaṇa's minister Mālyavān is stated to have deputed his spies (*cāraiḥ*) on different duties. Their one batch had informed him about Maṅtharā's arrival at Mithilā,[2] while another reported that the monkeys were wandering in all quarters in search of Sītā.[3] Similarly, the secret agents (*cārakaiḥ*) of Vāli told him about Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma who at that time was staying near the hermitage of Mātaṅga.[4] Bhavabhūti variously describes these secret agents as *cāraka*,[5] *cāra*,[6] *praṇidhi*[7] and *āsannaparicara*,[8] but does not point out their distinction.

While commenting on the term '*pañcavarga*', Bhāruci gives interesting information on the definition and functions of the five types of spies *viz.*, *kāpaṭika*, *udāsthita*, *gṛhapatika*, *vaidehaka* and *tāpasavyañjana*. He adds that three kinds of spies *viz.*, *vanacara*, *śramaṇa* and *āṭavika* were to be appointed by the king in order to know the activities of his enemies. He was also to appoint spies to safeguard against the activities of their counterparts who could be in his dominions with certain political motives.[9]

1. *URC*, I, p. 45.
2. *MVC*, IV, p. 118.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 199.
4. *Ibid.*, V, p. 193.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, V, p. 197, VI, p. 210.
7. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 202.
8. *URC*, I, p. 40.
9. (i) The *kāpaṭika* spy was one who could read others' feelings; who was bold at speech and who impersonated himself as a student (*antevāsī*). The minister after giving him a good sum of money was to instruct him thus: 'wherever you come to know anything which may prove harmful to me or to the king, you should report it to us without delay.'

   (ii) One who was wise and pure hearted and disguised as an ascetic, was known as *udāsthita*. Having gone to some suitable place with his disciples and a lot of money, he engaged them (disciples) in agriculture, cattle rearing and trade etc. The money which he earned from these professions was to be spent on fooding and lodging etc. of the different kinds of ascetics. That ascetic who approached the *udāsthita* for his employment or livelihood, was to be instructed by him (*udāsthita*) thus: 'following your own profes-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MILITARY ORGANISATION

Infantry

Infantry has always been the base and the most numerous component of our military organisation. In the *Uttararāmacarita* a great contingent of soldiers armed with corslets, staves and quivers is stated to have been dispatched under the command of Candraketu to guard the horse of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.[1] The *Mālatīmādhava* makes mention of a troop of seasoned soldiers equipped with flashing swords and various other weapons[2] not specified. In the *Śiśupālavadha*, we find soldiers armed with swords and shields,[3] and several terracotta plaques from Pahārpur assigned to the 8th century, "depict warriors both male and female who are generally foot-soldiers, sometimes clad in a coat of mail, armed with a club, sword or dagger in one hand and shield in the other."[4]

Chariots

Though referred to in a few contemporary sources as one

sion, you work for king and get your salary and allowances from me.' Likewise other ascetics were employed to keep control over the people of their own class and profession.

(iii) A cultivator who was poor but wise and pure hearted was called *gṛhapativyañjana*. He engaged himself in cultivation at a certain place, and like *udāsthita*, kept control over other farmers.

(iv) *Vaidehakavyañjana* was one who was not engaged in any occupation but was wise and pure hearted. Residing at a central place he was to keep his hold over other Vaiśyas or traders.

(v) One who was shaven headed or had locks of hair, and earned his livelihood by doing services to the king, was known as *tāpasavyañjana*. He lived near a village or a town together with his disciples, pretending to take food only once during the period of a month or two. His pupils propagated that their *guru* was a great *siddhayogī*, and that he could tell about the future fortune or misfortune of a person. He thus attracted people towards him and influenced them by his tricks. Thus keeping people under his control, he worked for the king (On Manu, VII, 154, *ZDMG*, Band 115-Heft I, 1965, pp. 148-151).

1. *URC*, IV, p. 124.
2. *MM*, VIII, p. 170.
3. *Śiśupāla*, XVIII, vv. 4, 19, 21, XIX, 55.
4. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 66.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the four components of the army,[1] chariotry seems to have practically fallen into desuetude in the Gupta and later periods.[2] It is significant to note that Vākpati while describing the army of Yaśovarman, makes no reference to chariots.[3] Similarly, the *caturaṅga* army of Jīvitagupta II had no provision for chariots which have been substituted by the naval force.[4] And even those records which refer to chariots, do not show them playing any important role in warfare, because they were used as a means of transport rather than as a vehicle of war.

Cavalry

Cavalry had become an important division of ancient Indian army in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the later periods witnessed a gradual increase in its importance.[5] The knowledge of horses was systematised into a science called *aśvaśāstra* or *aśvavidyā*[6] and it was included in the princely curriculum.[7] We are told that princes were taught the treatises on horses[8] and thoroughly trained in horse riding.[9]

Vākpati commences the account of Yaśovarman's army with his stately steeds going forth with the rest of the ranks.[10] He describes the Himalayan region as the birth place of horses[11]

1. *URC*, V, I; *MVC*, VI 35; *Samarā* (Modi), I, p. 27; *Śiśupāla*, V, 8, XVII, 27.
2. Chakravarti holds that there is no evidence to prove that the Gupta kings employed chariots. The testimony of the *Harṣacarita* (VI, pp. 346 ff) and that of the Madhuban copper plate (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 72) bears out that Harṣavardhana's army did not include chariots. Also see P.C. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 26; B.K. Majumdar, *Military System in Ancient India*, pp. 128-129.
3. *GV*, vv. 255 ff.
4. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 215.
5. P.C. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 35-36.
6. G.T. Date, *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 43.
7. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VIII, pp. 602-603; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 26.
8. *URC*, IV, pp. 122-124.
9. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VIII, pp. 602-603; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 26. Lalitāditya is mentioned to have been expert in horse riding (*RT*, IV, 265).
10. *GV*, vv. 255-262.
11. *Ibid.*, 261.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and also alludes to a kind of horse called *Javapacamāna*. The commentator Haripāla explains *Javapacamāna* as a good breed of steed.[1] Lalitāditya's cavalry is stated to have created a terror in the Tukhāra territory.[2] In the *Samarāiccakahā* we get description of the Turkish, Bālhīka (Bactrian), Kāmboja and Vajjara horses.[3] The *Kuvalayamālā* mentions eighteen breeds of steeds adding information on their characteristic features.[4] Indian horses were inferior to those of the western and north-western countries wherefrom they were imported, and were generally named after the land of their origin. But this swift and agile animal was never given the first rank in ancient Indian army.

Elephants

Enormous in size and extraordinary in strength, the elephants occupied the most important place in ancient Indian military organisation;[5] and the study of the science of elephants like that of horses formed part of princely education.[6] Vākpati recounts at length the chivalrous feats of Yaśovarman's elephants.[7] According to Hui-ch'ao, the king of central India *viz.*, Yaśovarman, had a contingent of nine hundred elephants.[8] In the *Śiśupālavadha* we are told that the mahouts (*nisādī*[9] or *yantā*[10]) controlled the elephants with goad (*aṅkuśa*) and exhorted them with encouraging remarks.[11] The archers charged their

1. *GV*, 255 and comments of Haripāla.
2. *RT*, IV, 166.
3. *Samarā* (Modi), II, pp. 88-89.
4. These are Mālā, Hāyaṇā, Kalayā, Khasā, Kakkasā, Ṭaṅkā, Ṭaṅkaṇā, Sārīrā, Sahajāṇā, Hūṇā, Sendhavā, Cittacalā, Caṅcalā, Pārā, Pārāvayā, Haṅsā, Haṅsagamaṇā and Vatthavvayā (*Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 23, Part II, p. 116).
5. *Arthaśāstra*, II, chapter 2; *Kāmandaka*, XX, 61, XXI, vv. 10-12; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Part II, chapter XLVIII, vv. 1, 11.
6. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VIII, pp. 602-603; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 151.
7. *GV*, vv. 263-269, 1007.
8. *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 169.
9. *Śiśupāla*, V, 40, XVII, 35.
10. *Ibid.*, V, 47.
11. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

arrows from their backs.[1] The eyes of elephants were covered by a piece of cloth and were unveiled before the commencement of the battle.[2]

Whereas the countries of the west and north-west were noted for horse-breeding, eastern India was famous for elephants.[3] Vākpati records that the king of Vaṅga whom Yaśovarman had vanquished, possessed a strong contingent of elephants.[4] But this terror striking animal sometimes created a dangerous situation. Thus besides the earliest historical example of Porus, Dāhir's elephants, too, fled helter skelter from the battle-field trampling his own troops when the Arab forces under the command of Kāsim charged their arrows on them.[5]

Navy

In north India, Bengal and the Indus valley played important role in naval affairs.[6] We are informed that Jīvitagupta II of Magadha[7] and Dāhir and Jaisimha of Sind had also powerful naval forces. Jaisimha was defeated and killed by the Arabs after a hard fought naval battle.[8]

Military Officials

The chief of the army has been mentioned as *camūpati*,[9] *senāpati*[10] and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.[11] In the *Mahāviracarita* we get some information regarding the role and responsibility of Rāvaṇa's *senāpati* Prahasta. It recounts that when Rāma's ranks reached Laṅkā, Prahasta got fastened all its gates and entrusted the responsibility of defence to his trusted persons.

1. *Śiśupāla*, XVIII, vv. 9, 24, 39.
2. *Ibid.*, XVIII, vv. 28-29.
3. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 55.
4. *GV*, vv. 419-420.
5. *Indian Review*, March, 1941, p. 157.
6. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 63.
7. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 215.
8. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 125.
9. *URC*, V, p. 130.
10. *MVC*, VI, p. 206.
11. Deo-Barṇārk inscription, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 218.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

He then informed Rāvaṇa that the army of the enemy had besieged the capital city, obstructed the help of the allies and cut off the supply of the provisions.[1] But further details are not recorded. That the foreign minister too played a prominent part in warfare is evidenced by the example of Lalitāditya's minister Mitraśarmā.[2] Different units of the army were placed under the charge of different heads. Thus the heads of cavalry and elephantry were called *mahāśvapati* and *mahāpīlūpati*[3] respectively. Other military officers are not referred to in our records.

Arms, Weapons and Armour

As for arms and weapons, the contemporary records refer to one-edged (*asi*,[4] *karavāla*[5]) as well as multi-edged swords (*khaḍga*),[6] stiletto (*asidhenu*),[7] dart or barbed missile (*prāsa*),[8] javelin (*tomara*),[9] *śakti*[10] and *bhalla*[11] (varieties of missile), axe (*kuṭhāra*),[12] hundred-killer (*śataghnī*),[13] goose (*pāśa*),[14] and sling (*bhinḍipāla*).[15] This list includes three varieties of sword *viz.*, one-edged, multi-edged and stiletto. The last one was one cubit long with no hand-guard at the hand.[16] *Tomara* had a wooden body and metal head formed like a bunch of flowers and was three cubits long.[17] *Śataghnī* resembled a club in its movements and was shot out of other projectile weapons. It is also taken to be

1. *MVC*, VI, vv. 18-19.
2. *RT*, IV, vv. 137-139.
3. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IX, p. 798.
4. *GV*, vv. 219, 246.
5. *Ibid.*, vv. 102, 301, 306.
6. *Ibid.*, vv. 171, 212, 241, 303, 716.
7. *Ibid.*, 306.
8. *MVC*, VI, 33.
9. *GV*, 730; *Śiśupāla*, XIX, 74.
10. *Śiśupāla*, XIX, 59.
11. *Ibid.*, XIX, 17.
12. *MVC*, II, 49.
13. *Ibid.*, VI, 48.
14. *GV*, 942.
15. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 16.
16. G. Oppert, *Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims*, p. 17.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a great cannon.[1] From the *Jānakīharaṇa* we learn that Rāma killed several demons with the weapons shot forth from the *yaṅtra* in his hand.[2] *Yaṅtra* was loosely used to denote a contrivance of any kind and that it was like catapults and ballistics used by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks and Romans in their warfare.[3] These arms and weapons as well as many more were used from fairly early times.[4]

In order to safeguard against the strokes of arms and weapons, armours (*varma*)[5] made of iron were worn by the soldiers whether on foot or on the horse back.[6] Māgha tells us that wearing of armours before going to the battle-field was a popular convention.[7] The armours put on by the elephants were thickly knitted.[8]

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

King and his Court of Justice

The king was the original court and an appellate tribunal.[9] Occupying the judgement-seat (*dharmāsana*),[10] he dispensed justice with the help and guidance of judicial officials. It has already been noted[11] that the knowledge of scriptures and politi-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
2. *Jānakī*, V, 45.
3. Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 159, 161.
4. Vide *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 213-215.
5. *GV*, 102.
6. *Ādi P.*, XXVII, 86, XXXVI, vv. 14-15.
7. *Śiśupāla*, XVII, 21.
8. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 6. For details see Oppert, *Weapons, Army Organisation and War Maxims*, pp. 17 ff; Date, *Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 11-25; Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India*, pp. 150-180; *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 264 ff.
9. *HDS*, Vol. III, p. 268.
10. *URC*, I, 7. Manu (VIII, 23) and Kālidāsa (*Śākuntalam*, V, p. 75) also describe it as *dharmāsana*. The commentator Ghanaśyāma explains it as judgment-seat (*nyāyavicārasiṁhāsanaḥ*, *URC*, Kane's edition I, p. 7). But Vīrarāghava interprets it as the throne of the king sitting on which he governs the state (*kṣatriyadharmabhūtarājya-paripālanārthasiṁhāsanaḥ*, *URC*, Nirnayasagar Press, I, p. 14).
11. See chapter V, under 'Education of the King'.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

cal treatises was one of the important subjects of the princely curriculum. And the king being the *daṇḍadhara i.e.*, wielder of the rod of punishment, chastised the wicked and protected the righteous and law-abiding people.[1]

The paraphernalia of the king's court of justice consisted of ministers, judges, learned Brāhmaṇas, assessors, scribe and others, as we shall see in the following pages. Among these, the chief judge and other judges played most important role. Asahāya enumerates noble lineage, ripe wisdom, truthfulness, proficiency in the sacred law and close acquaintance with worldly ways, as the qualifications of a judge. He also adds that only intelligent persons should be appointed as judges; because the law-books contain numerous abstruse utterances of the sages which a dullard can neither follow nor refer their relevant contents to every case in hand.[2]

Procedure of the Court

Asahāya throws very interesting light on the proceedings of the court through the following example:

'A Brāhmaṇa merchant named Śrīdhara had lent 10,000 drammas to another trader named Devadhara, on condition that the interest amounting to two per cent per mensem of the principal stock be paid to him. Devadhara duly paid the interest at the end of the first month. In the second month, however, he as well as his son died and his great-grandson Mahīdhara alone was left. As he (Mahīdhara) was a debauch, the management of the estate was taken over by his sons and maternal uncles whom a cunning Brāhmaṇa named Smārta-

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, 33, on verse 37, p. 35, on verse 42. Bhavabhūti describes *rājadaṇḍa* as a means of chastisement (*prāyaścitta iva rājadaṇḍe-apyenaso niṣkrayamāmananti dharmācāryāḥ*, *MVC*, IV, p. 141). He compares the king to a physician and adds that if a *doṣa* cannot be remedied by other means, the king must take up the arms *i.e.*, he must resort to coercion (*Ibid.*, IV, 23). Yaśovarman is said to have chastised the culprits (*GV*, vv. 216, 1015). Kumāradāsa observes that "Even a silly cowherd feels that the kine cannot be controlled without a rod; how much more essential it is with the kings" (*Jānakī*, X, 31).
2. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 36-37, on vv. 4-5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

dhurdhara advised not to pay anything to Śrīdhara. And Smārtadhurdhara claimed his competence to prove from the law-books that Śrīdhara was not entitled for any money. The uncles of Mahīdhara promised to give him 1,000 drammas if they won their case. They, therefore, refused the payment at the close of the second month and said, "We do not owe you the principal, much less any interest. The Brāhmaṇa Smārtadhurdhara has pointed out to us that the obligation to pay stops with the fourth in descent." Śrīdhara then went to the court attended by his family, friends and servants, and engaged Smārtaśekhara to plead his case. Both the parties took sureties. Smārtadhurdhara pleaded that his clients were connected with his family by a long friendship. He adduced the text of Nārada in support of his contention that the obligation to pay the debts of ancestors stopped with the fourth generation. But all his arguments were convincingly refuted by his counterpart Smārtaśekhara who at the end of his address openly charged Smārtadhurdhara of having taken a bribe from his clients, and Mahīdhara lost his case.'[1]

Plaint and its Reply

The plaint was tendered in writing and the defendant after hearing it, was to submit a written reply on the next day or within three or seven days. But the plaintiff was not given any time for answering the statements of the defendant and that his (plaintiff's) victory or defeat was decided at once by examining the proofs that had been put forth.[2] Asahāya adds that if the defendant resorted to *pratyavaskandana i.e.*, where he admitted the charge, but brought forward a special circumstance to exonerate himself, the plaint was regarded as useless. To the defendant, however, belonged the '*onus probandi*' in regard to the special circumstance. He was, therefore, reduced to the position of a claimant in that it was incumbent on him to prove his assertion at the time of judicial investigation.[3]

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 43-44, on verse 6.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 24-25, on verse 3.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 31, on verse 31.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Evidence

Commenting on the valid and invalid evidence, Asahāya cites the following example:

'This wicked debtor owes me money. He declines to repay it, though I can prove his obligation to pay me by witnesses and documentary evidence. Therefore, I must cite him before the tribunal of the king.' If the claimant said so and did not produce the evidence at the time when he proffered his claim, but produced it afterwards, it was not treated as an evidence. But if such statement had been previously made and the claimant failed to repeat it during judicial enquiry on account of some unfortunate accident or forgetfulness etc., it could be renewed and was to be examined by the judges, although the case had already been decided and sureties been given and taken.[1]

As regards witnesses, Asahāya adds that if labourers were witnesses for the labourers, out-castes for out-castes and women for women, their qualities need not be tested.[2] Commenting on the validity of witnesses, he cites the following examples: After the death of his creditor if a person says, 'I have restored this or that cow, female buffalo, bull or field to my creditor and some honest men have witnessed the transaction.' Another man says, 'Your father owes me 100 drammas and certain persons are its witnesses. He (your father) died before the claim was examined.' In such a case he adds, even the trustworthy witnesses were not to be relied upon.[3] He then gives another example: A claimant asserts, 'This bull which is now in your possession is mine. He was stolen by the thieves who also took seven cows with him. These animals may be recognised by a red mark on their forehead or by their white feet or by other signs . . . and that I can adduce four witnesses in support of my claim.' The opponent replies, 'Prajāpati has created many two-legged and four-legged beings closely resembling one another. If a superficial similarity is to be considered as an evidence, I might take another man's wife to my house because she has eyebrows, ears, nose, eyes, hands, feet etc. like those of my wife. This bull

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 21, on verse 62.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82, on verse 155.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 64, on verse 94.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

is born and bred in my own house and I can adduce four witnesses from the village in which he is being kept, to prove my assertion.' Asahāya adds that in such a dispute the witnesses of the person who first brought the case into the court, decided the matter.[1]

According to Bhāruci, the statements of those witnesses who belong to rural areas and speak diffidently at the time of interrogation either on account of not knowing how to speak, or because of their inability to answer the questions properly, should be carefully examined.[2]

Judgment

According to Asahāya, a law-suit was decided only when the judges after having come to a unanimous agreement about the verdict to be passed on the plaintiff and the defendant, recorded their respective victory and defeat. The punishment was given in accordance with the comparative heaviness or lightness of offence.[3] We are also informed that when all assessors of the court passed an unjust sentence either on account of their ignorance of law or from interested motives, a Brāhmaṇa well grounded in sacred law and acquainted with legal proceedings, if present there per chance, could point out the law to them and restrain the judges from their sinful course. Asahāya further adds that law is called the voice of the deity.[4]

Establishing the supreme judicial authority of the king, Asahāya states that what was decided in a village went to the town; what was decided in the town went before the king; and what was decided by him could not be tried anew even if his decision was unjust.[5] Similar view has been expressed by Bhāruci.[6]

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 83, on verse 163.
2. On Manu, VIII, 78, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 22.
3. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 22, on verse 65.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 36, on verse 2.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 7, on verse 11.
6. *JAOS*, Vol. 84, No. 4, p. 394.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Evidence of the Samarāiccakahā regarding Crime and Punishment

Haribhadra throws important light on the crimes, punishments and proceedings of the court through popular stories whose relevant extracts are given below:

(i) When the house of a rich merchant was plundered, he lodged its report with king Caṇḍasena, giving the list of stolen goods. The king then issued proclamation to the effect that any one to whom the stolen goods were offered for sale, must give its information to save himself from the capital punishment. When five days wore away after the proclamation, one Yajñadeva reported to the king that the house of Candana was robbed by a merchant named Cakradeva. The king then instituted a police search. The policemen taking with them the store-keeper of Candana to help them in recognising the stolen property and also the elders of the town, entered the house of Cakradeva and interrogated him, but Cakradeva denied the charge. However, all the property including the gold vessels marked with the name of Candana as mentioned in the inventory, was recovered from Cakradeva's house. He was then presented before the king who interrogated him decently. On further enquiry it was found that Yajñadeva himself was the real culprit. And, therefore, the king ordered to cut off his tongue and pull out his eyes. But he was later on pardoned on Cakradeva's request.[1]

(ii) The treasury of king Caṇḍasena was robbed, and hectic efforts were made to trace out the criminal. During the investigations, the police caught an ascetic with stolen goods whom the king awarded the capital punishment. But when he was led to the execution ground, he confessed that it was he who had committed all the thefts in the town including the one in which he was arrested. He also disclosed the spots where he had

1. *Samarā* (Modi), II, pp. 97-102.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chennai

hidden the stolen articles, telling the names of the persons to whom they severally belonged. The minister ascertained that he had told the truth. He evinced interest in the person and asked him to tell the causes that led him to be a thief. The latter then narrated the story of his previous crimes thus: 'I was a companion of the king of Sāketa. One day when I was drunk, I insulted the queen, and also reviled the king when he interfered in the matter. For this offence my tongue was cut off.'[1]

(iii) Dhanaśrī killed her husband named Dhana, and when its report was lodged with the king, he deputed the policemen to trace out the murderer. The policemen arrested Dhanaśrī and presented her before the king for trial. Finding her guilty, the king banished her from his country.[2]

(iv) A robber named Caṇḍarudra had stolen a lot of jewels from the royal palace, and when he was coming out, the policemen saw him and chased. He, however, managed to enter a temple where he found a lady named Lakṣmī, the wife of one Dharaṇa. Caṇḍarudra, however, took her in his confidence and disappeared with her from the temple, leaving the jewels by the side of Dharaṇa. In the morning, the policemen arrested Dharaṇa and carried him before the king who sentenced him to death.[3]

(v) A merchant called Suvadana cheated another trader named Dharaṇa of his property and also took his wife Lakṣmī. This fraud was reported by another trader known as Toppā to the king who summoned both the parties to his court. But on account of indifference shown by Dharaṇa in his case, it became difficult for the king to find out the real criminal. Therefore, the interrogations had to be carried on for a long time. The plaintiff and the defendant were also allowed to cross examine each other and the matter could be

1. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IV, p. 229.
2. *Ibid.*, VI p. 432.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 432.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

decided only when Dharaṇa told the truth. Having heard the statements of Suvadana, Lakṣmī, Toppā and Dharaṇa, the king found the former two as guilty. For these acts of fraud, he delivered his judgment thus: "Kill this rogue (Suvadana) disguised as merchant; banish this woman who has spoiled both her life and character, from my kingdom and hand over this wealth to Dharaṇa."[1]

Dharaṇa became a mendicant and went to Tāmralipti where Suvadana and Lakṣmī also reached. They (Suvadana and Lakṣmī) once again joined hands against Dharaṇa. Lakṣmī put beside Dharaṇa a necklace with a broken string and cried out "stolen, stolen". Then the policemen arrested sage Dharaṇa. For only a day before that incident, some thieves disguised as mendicants were arrested by the police, and, therefore it had become well-known that persons committed thefts under the garb of hermits. Dharaṇa was brought to the court and was interrogated, but he did not speak. The king, therefore, got vexed and ordered the policemen to carry him to the execution ground. The gallows were fixed on the ground and the sage was taken upon it. The Cāṇḍāla then cried out, 'O citizens, this hermit is to be killed because he has stolen another's wealth. Any one who commits a similar crime shall be visited with such terrible punishment.'[2] The king, too, went to the execution ground where he was told by the minister that the sage kept silence probably on account of being under some vow. And he suggested that merchant's wife Lakṣmī be called. When Lakṣmī was informed of the incident, she fled away. The policemen arrested Suvadana who was also trying to abscond. Suvadana was examined by the king and he told the truth. The king was pleased with the confession of his guilt and he pardoned him. Later on, Lakṣmī was also arrested. The king was convinced that she was a recidivist and could not be reformed by pleasing ways. He, therefore, made her to eat her own flesh. She was also defiled by impure matter, maltreated by various insults and exiled from the kingdom.[3]

1. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 69-78.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 119-120.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 120-125.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Retrospect

A perusal of the above accounts brings out several interesting details regarding the judicial system of the period. In Asahāya's commentary, we find a very realistic description of the court procedure. The plaint was tendered in writing and the defendant was to submit its written answer positively within seven days after hearing it. Lawyers pleaded for the plaintiff and the defendant and charged fee for the same. And the king gave his final judgment in consultation with the chief judge and other judicial officials.

K.P. Jayaswal holds that lawyers ought to have existed in India from the time of Manu or from the 1st century A.D.[1] But his contention is not supported by any clear and credible testimony.[2] According to Altekar, "when the legal procedure became complex from about 500 A.D., the scholars well trained in the *Smṛtis* were often engaged by the parties to plead their cases. But such cases were, however, few and there is no evidence to show that a regular class of professional lawyers in the modern sense existed in ancient India."[3] Vardachariar adds that certain passages in Nārada and Kātyāyana refer to agents rather than to advocates.[4] According to Ramaprasad Das Gupta, "There is no mention of pleaders in any of the Hindu or Buddhist books. The *Dharmaśāstras* are totally silent on this point."[5]

The first clear reference to lawyers probably occurs in the commentary of Asahāya where we find two Brāhmaṇas namely Smārtaśekhara and Smārtadhurdhara who were well versed in the *Smṛti* literature,[6] pleading the cases of the plaintiff and the defendant respectively. Smārtadhurdhara is also stated to have been promised 1000 drammas by his client on winning his case. There are, however, the following notable facts in this context:

1. Quoted by S. Vardachariar in *Hindu Judicial System*, p. 156.
2. See *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157; *SGAI*, p. 258.
3. *SGAI*, p. 259.
4. *Hindu Judicial System*, pp. 156-157.
5. *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, p. 66.
6. He is mentioned to have quoted the *Nārada Smṛti* while trying to establish that the obligation to pay the debt of ancestors ceases with fourth generation (*SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 43-44, on verse 6).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(i) Smārtadhurdhara has been called a cunning Brāhmaṇa.
(ii) The payment of 1000 drammas to him was subject to his client's victory.
(iii) Smārtadhurdhara while pleading the case tried to establish his long and intimate association with his client's family.
(iv) Smārtaśekhara charged his counterpart with having taken a bribe from his client.

These facts do not fit in well in the modern concept of professional pleaders. But they may be accounted for by the fact that the concept and functions of the pleaders in the time of Asahāya must not necessarily have been exactly the same as we find in much later periods; and that his account acquaints us with the state and form of the legal profession as it existed in the 8th century. And it may also be added that none of the abovementioned facts is referred to in connection with Smārtaśekhara, the counsel of the plaintiff. Therefore, Smārtaśekhara and Smārtadhurdhara should be regarded as professional lawyers rather than agents.

Asahāya would have us believe that the king took the advice of chief judge and other members of his court while deciding a case, and that the judgment was passed by him (king) only when it was unanimously agreed upon by the judges. Asahāya also adds that normally the decision of the king could not be challenged.[1] But in the *Samarāiccakahā*, there is, however, no mention of judges in whose place the ministers have been shown taking active part.

As regards crime and punishment, Asahāya makes a general remark that the punishment was given according to the heaviness and lightness of the crime. Haribhadra has furnished a fuller information on the subject. According to him, the capital punishment was awarded for such offences as robbery committed in the royal treasury, theft of precious stones from king's palace, fraud of serious nature and also for the theft of a necklace; mutilation was the punishment for committing

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 36, on verse 2. Similar view has been expressed by Bhāruci (*JAOS*, Vol. 84, No. 4, p. 394).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation Chandigarh

burglary and insulting a king and his queen. It is significant to note that there is no reference to fines and imprisonment for any crime in the *Samarāiccakahā*, though both were commonly current. From the Lakṣmaṇeśvara pillar inscription of c. 725 A.D. we learn that fines were imposed for thefts and minor delinquencies.[1] And Hui-ch'ao records that all crimes were punished by fines in Kanauj and Sind.[2]

The penal code in the period under discussion seems to have become more severe than that of earlier times.[3] But there is no unanimity in the views of various contemporary authors regarding the punishments for different crimes. It may, however, be inferred that the punishment was generally given according to the nature and gravity of offence. Small crimes were usually punished by fines and the serious ones by amputation of limbs and capital punishment. In fact, the *Smṛti* rules regarding the penal code could not have been implemented strictly and uniformly throughout the country and there must have been variations according to the nature of the kings and also in view of the law and order situation in different kingdoms. The rulers sometimes took a lenient view and pardoned the offender on confession of his guilt.

Like earlier periods,[4] the law was partial to women and the Brāhmaṇas who enjoyed immunity from the capital punishment. In the *Samarāiccakahā*, a lady named Lakṣmī is stated to have been exiled from the kingdom, made to eat her own flesh and humiliated by various means, for committing murder, fraud and other crimes. But she was not given the death sentence. Similarly, a Brāhmaṇa who had killed another

1. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 190.
2. Quoted by R.C. Mitra in *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, pp. 18, 30.
3. For the views of earlier authorities regarding the punishments for various crimes, see Rama Prasad Dasgupta, *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, Book I, chapters IV-VII, and Book II, chapters I, X, XI, XV and XVIII. Also see *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 521-523; *CA*, p. 357.
   The break-up of strong central power following the downfall of the Gupta empire and that of the kingdom of Harṣa, led to a marked increase in the anti-social activities. Therefore, the penal code in the post-Gupta and Harṣa periods was made more severe.
4. See *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 396-397.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Brāhmaṇa was spared of the capital punishment in the reign of king Candrāpīḍa of Kashmir.[1]

The description of the execution ground given in the *Samarāiccakahā* is rather terror striking. Like earlier times,[2] impalement was the usual form of execution and that it was carried out by the Cāṇḍālas. The penalty served as a strict warning to criminals.

1. *RT*, IV, vv. 95-106.
2. See *HDS*, Vol. III, p. 400.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

6

Social Life

The social life in the period under review was marked by ramification in the caste system, and a decline in the position of women. The Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇas became the leading Brāhmaṇas in the entire country; and it was in or about the time of Yaśovarman that five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj were invited to and settle in Bengal, to revive the orthodox Vedic religion.[1] Our sources throw light on the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*, *saṁskāras* particularly marriage, status of women, food, drinks, dress, ornaments, toilet, coiffure and education.

CASTE SYSTEM

The Brāhmaṇas

The Brāhmaṇas were normally noted for their peaceful nature[2] and academic pursuits. Asahāya refers to "the study of the *Vedas*, pronouncing of sacred benedictions and offering burnt oblations" as the functions of the Brāhmaṇas.[3] Bhavabhūti calls them *vācivīrya* (*i.e.*, having vigour and vitality in their speech) in contrast to the Kṣatriyas who were known for the valour of their arms (*bāhuvīrya*).[4] He has described a Brāhmaṇa's way of life through Vaśiṣṭha who instructed Para-

1. *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 339-340.
2. *MVC*, III, 34.
3. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 56, on verse 57.
4. *URC*, V, 32.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

śurāma thus: 'You are *a śrotriya*. Hence desist yourself from the propensities of the warrior caste.'[1] Śatānanda also reproached him for resorting to the use of arms contrary to the nature of his peace loving caste.[2] And Aghoraghaṇṭa while preparing himself to fight with Mādhava, contemptuously called him the son of a Brāhmaṇa,[3] implying the lack of heroism in him on account of his caste. Brāhmaṇas were also the makers of the code of conduct (*śiṣṭācāra-praṇetārāḥ*)[4] and were not supposed to speak in harsh tone.[5]

The *Caca-Nāmā* records that the Brāhmaṇas were sages and physicians, and all the nuptial and funeral rites were performed by them.[6] Bhavabhūti[7] and Kumāradāsa[8] acquaint us with the role of the Brāhmaṇa priests on the occasions of marriage and coronation ceremonies. According to Asahāya, a Brāhmaṇa might gain his subsistence like a Vaiśya at the time of drought or famine.[9] He cites the example of a Brāhmaṇa merchant who had lent on interest 10,000 drammas to a trader. And in this context, Asahāya also makes mention of two Brāhmaṇa lawyers *viz.* Smārtaśekhara and Smārtadhurdhara.[10] This is perhaps the earliest clear reference to professional pleaders.[11]

There are also instances of the Brāhmaṇa kings, ministers and other officials. Thus the Brāhmaṇa dynasty of Caca ruled in Sind, and that of the Guhilas in Mewar, in the age under survey. Bhavabhūti refers to Brāhmaṇa ministers Bhūrivasu and Devarāta.[12] Lalitāditya's foreign minister Mitraśarmā was also a Brāhmaṇa.[13] And from the *Caca-Nāmā* we learn that the Brāhmaṇas held responsible offices in the time of Dāhir, and

1. *MVC*, III, p. 86.
2. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 96-97.
3. *MM*, V, p. 114.
4. *MVC*, II, p. 57.
5. *Ibid.*, III, vv. 26, 31.
6. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 88.
7. *MM*, VI, 2; *MVC*, VII, 37.
8. *Jānakī*, I, 43.
9. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 55, on verse 56.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44, on verse 6.
11. For details see chapter V, under 'Judicial System'.
12. *MM*, I, p. 13.
13. *RT*, IV, 137.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that Muhammad ibn-Kāsim, too, had appointed them on important administrative posts.[1]

From about the middle of the 7th century A.D., the Brāhmaṇas not only divided themselves into several sections on the basis of different *gotras* and *śākhās*, but were also subdivided as Dwivedins, Trivedins and Caturvedins, on account of their specialisation in the Vedic literature.[2] This is borne out both by literary[3] and epigraphic[4] evidences. The Dharmāraṇya Khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* while recording a historical tradition about Yaśovarman's son Āma, tells us that the Trivedin Brāhmaṇas had tried to belittle the social position of the Caturvedins.[5] There are also references to the *śrotriyas* and the *pañktipāvana* Brāhmaṇas. The former were well versed in the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*.[6] The latter were considered as extremely holy, and that they could purify those who dined with them sitting in the same row.[7]

1. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 86.
2. *IC*, Vol. XIV, p. 52; B.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India*, p. 42.
3. The Brāhmaṇas of Padmapura belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and were the students of the Taittirīya branch of the *Black Yajurveda* (*MM*, I, p. 7; *MVC*, I, p. 7). Haribhadra alludes to a lady named Khaṇḍapānā whose *gotra* was Gautama (*Dhūrtākhyāna*, V, 39).
4. The Prince of Wales Museum plates record a grant of land given to Brāhmaṇa Accada who belonged to the community of the Trivedins; who was a student of the Mādhyandina branch of the Vājasaneya and whose *gotra* was Kauṇḍinya (*CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 109). In the Alīnā copper plates, a Brāhmaṇa of the Caturvedī community is stated to have belonged to Sarkarakṣi *gotra* and was a student of the Bahvṛcha branch (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 190). The Rājim copper plate refers Gaurīdatta who was of Bhārdvāja *gotra* and a student of the Vājasaneyī Mādhyandina branch (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 295).
5. See D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Part I, pp. 147-155.
6. *Śrotriya sāṅgavedādhyāyin*, Vīrarāghava on *MVC*, III, 2. Tripurāri also gives a similar definition of a *śrotriya* Brāhmaṇa (see *MM*, Maṅgala Sharma's edition, 1, p. 7).
7. *Pañktyau bhojanādigoṣthyām pāvanā agrabhojinaḥ pavitrā vetyarthaḥ. Yajuṣām pārago yastu sāmnām yaścāpi pāragaḥ. Atharvaśirasodhyetā Brāhmaṇaḥ pañktipāvanaḥ* (Jagaddhara on *MM*, I, p. 7). *Pañktim pāvayantīti pañktipāvanāḥ bhavantīti śeṣaḥ. Agryāḥ sarveṣu Vedeṣu sarvapravacaneṣu ca. Śrotriyānvayajāścaivavijñeyāḥ pañktipāvanāḥ* (Vīrarāghava on *MVC*, I, p. 7). *Pañktipāvanāḥ* has also been interpreted as respectable Brāhmaṇas who being very learned, always got the seat of honour at dinner parties (Todarmall, *MVC*, p. 219).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Himself an orthodox Vedic Brāhmaṇa, Bhavabhūti has advocated the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas to other castes. Like Hiuen-Tsang[1] and I-tsing,[2] he calls them *bhūmideva*[3] *i.e.*, gods on the earth, and adds that 'let there be no doubt in the utterances of the Brāhmaṇas in whom the supreme light is revealed. An excellent fortune awaits upon their words, for they do not speak ineffectual truth.'[4] Bhavabhūti also regards the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas as an efficacious weapon for the Kṣatriyas.[5] From the *Caca-Nāmā* we learn that the principal residents and nobles of Sind had pleaded to Muhammad ibn-Kāsim, the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas to other castes, and that the latter passed orders confirming their supreme social status.[6]

Like earlier periods,[7] the Brāhmaṇas were generally immune from the corporal[8] or capital punishment.[9] Therefore, the Brāhmaṇa assassin was not awarded death sentence in the reign of king Candrāpīḍa of Kashmir.[10] Asahāya adds that a document written by one who was charged with the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, was regarded as invalid.[11]

These privileges were given to the Brāhmaṇas mainly because of their erudition and noble character and conduct;[12] and they were not spared of criticism and even corporal punishment if they indulged in gross violation of their caste rules.[13] Ordinary Brāhmaṇas held a less honoured position than the meritorious and well placed ones.

1. Watters, Vol. I, p. 168.
2. Takakusu, pp. 24, 182.
3. *MM*, VI, 2.
4. *URC*, IV, 18.
5. *MVC*, II, 5.
6. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 86.
7. Harṣa could only banish those Brāhmaṇas who had conspired to take his life (Beal, Vol. I, p. 221).
8. *MVC*, III, 30.
9. *HS*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103. Also see *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, III, 41; *HDS*, Vol. III, pp. 396 ff.
10. *RT*, IV, 96.
11. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 56, on verse 57.
12. *MVC*, IV, 22.
13. Janaka and Daśaratha threatened to use their bow against Paraśurāma when all attempts to pacify him failed (*Ibid.*, II, 44, III, 30).

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kṣatriyas

Traditionally entrusted with the task of protection,[1] the Kṣatriyas were noted for the valour of their arms,[2] and were supposed to be free from fear.[3] Bhavabhūti tells us that Rāma had as if assumed the form of *Kṣātradharma* or that of the *astraveda*, for the protection of the world. According to Vīrarāghava, *Kṣātradharma* includes valour, strength, liberality, firmness, probity and not to retreat from fighting.[4] Like the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas also practised penances,[5] performed sacrifices[6] and studied the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*.[7]

It has, however, been held that the Kṣatriyas were next to none in early medieval period. During the Arab advancement . . . there was question of national defence which was assigned to the Kṣatriyas by the Brahmanical society. Their immunity from the capital punishment as is testified to by Alberuni, gives the actual picture of society when the Kṣatriyas enjoyed the highest status in the land.[8] These observations are untenable for the following reasons:

The Kṣatriyas in general and the rulers in particular were essentially meant for the protection of the people and country against any danger internal or external. As regards the Arab invasions, it was not the Kṣatriyas alone who faced them. And the kings of Sind who were the first to bear the brunt of the Arab onslaughts were Brāhmaṇas. Bhavabhūti refers to *Brahma-Kṣatrasamāja*[9] and uses the term *dvitīyavarṇa*[10] for the Kṣatriyas. We are also told that the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas were considered as an unfailing weapon for the Kṣatriyas. These refer-

1. *MVC*, I, 25.
2. *URC*, V, 32; *MVC*, II, vv. 25, 29.
3. *MVC*, II, 27.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 41 and comments of Vīrarāghava.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 43 and comments of Vīrarāghava.
6. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 13-14.
7. *URC*, II, p. 53. Bhavabhūti makes mention of the *Upanayana* of prince Lava (*URC*, II, p. 53). Besides, he refers to Rājanya *śrotriya* (*MVC*, I, p. 15). These references also bear out that the Kṣatriyas studied the Vedic literature.
8. V. Upadhyaya, *Socio-Religious Condition of North India*, pp. 57-59.
9. *MVC*, I, 17.
10. *Ibid.*, II, 5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ences together with the evidence of the *Caca-Nāmā*[1] referred to above, point to the highest social status of the Brāhmaṇas, and that the Kṣatriyas were next to them. But it may, however, be inferred that the status of both might have differed largely in accordance with their occupations and merits etc. The ruling Kṣatriya families enjoyed the highest status and they may have been regardful only towards the meritorious Brāhmaṇas. Ordinary Kṣatriyas were certainly second to the Brāhmaṇas. The combination of *Brāhma* and *Kṣātra teja* made a person extraordinarily powerful.[2]

Vaiśyas

Our sources supply very little information about the Vaiśyas. According to Asahāya, agriculture and tending of cattle etc. were the lawful occupations of a Vaiśya, and that he could practise usury in the time of distress.[3] Jinasena holds that the Vaiśyas were fit for trade.[4] Their status was very much inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. But wealthy Vaiśyas held an honoured position, and were treated with decorum even by the kings.[5]

Śūdras and Low Castes

Asahāya explains the phrase 'a vile man' as a member of the Śūdra caste who accepts food from everybody and sells all sorts of commodities.[6] Like earlier periods, the Śūdras were subject to several disabilities. Bhavabhūti records the old epic story of the Śūdra Śambuka who had practised penances. This violation of the caste rules caused the death of a Brāhmaṇa. And when Rāma was informed of it, he slew the Śūdra and restored the Brāhmaṇa to life.[7] This account traditional as it is, also seems

1. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 86.
2. *MVC*, II, 36.
3. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 58, on verse 111.
4. *Jain HVP*, IX, 39.
5. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 7-8, 81.
6. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 56, on verse 57.
7. *URC*, II, pp. 57, 59.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to reflect the notion of Bhavabhūti's age when the Śūdras were denied the right of practising penances; and if they did so, its consequences were believed to be disastrous to the people of the upper *varṇas*.[1]

From the *Uttararāmacarita* we learn that the sūtradhāra stopped at the gate of Rāma's palace and could not dare to go inside on account of his low caste.[2] Bhavabhūti also refers to Saunika[3] and Cāṇḍāla[4] comparing the cruel nature of their profession with Rāma's act of banishing his wife. The Cāṇḍālas were employed by the kings as executioners.[5] They had to live outside the village or town[6] and were regarded as untouchable.[7]

Bhāruci explains the phrase "*mūlavyasanaṁ*" as subsistence earned by means of killing. He adds that an offspring born of a *pulkasī* woman by a Cāṇḍāla earned his livelihood by executing the criminals and carrying away the (unclaimed) dead bodies. He took food offered to the dead or evil spirits.[8]

From the Gupta period onwards, the service of the Śūdras consisted in supplying part of their produce as artisans and traders and especially as peasants. Their old forms of servitude still continued, but such Śūdras were less numerous.[9] The pursuit of industrial arts and crafts gave rise to several sub-divisions among the Śūdras based on their occupations. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* refers[10] to kumbhakāra or cakropajīvī (potter), vyādha

1. Asahāya, too, was not in favour of the transgression of the rules of one's own caste. He adds that a Śūdra should refrain himself from the doings of a Brāhmaṇa *viz.*, the performance of sacrifices, study of the *Vedas* and pronouncing of sacred benedictions (*SBE*, XXXIII, Part I, p. 56, on verse 57).
2. *URC*, I, p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*, I, 45.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 46.
5. From the *Samarāiccakahā* (Jacobi's edition, IV, p. 218), we learn that a *Cāṇḍāla* who was to be granted by the king what he (Cāṇḍāla) desired, requested the king that the people of his caste should no more be employed as executioners.
6. Legge, p. 43; Takakusu, p. 139; *Ādi. P.*, vv. 185-186.
7. *Kādambarī* (M.R. Kale's translation), p. 25.
8. On Manu, X, 38; *Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 18.
9. R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 282.
10. *Kūrma P.*, II, XVII, vv. 4-6, 12-13, 16-17. This chapter has been assigned to c. 700-800 A.D. by R.C. Hazra, *Purānic—Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 178.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(hunter), ghaṭika (executioner), nāpita (barber) and kuśīlava (bard or actor). But it does not specify their grades or status Bhāruci adds that a wealthy Śūdra living on his own earning was not to be treated as a slave.[1]

The *Samarāiccakahā* throws some light on the status of the washermen. It refers to a music party of the washermen who were engaged in music and dance on the occasion of the Madana festival. While doing so they were molested by prince Vijayasena who being proud of his high caste and family status remarked, "How can a music party of the low caste bypass our own."[2] Haribhadra also mentions a lady named Dughikā who was conscious of her low grade profession although she belonged to a prosperous family.[3]

ĀŚRAMAS

The first stage has been referred to by Bhavabhūti as *prathamāśrama*[4] and *Brahmacarya-āśrama*[5] in which learning was acquired in a well regulated way.[6] It commenced after the initiation.[7] Bhavabhūti records that the Kṣatriya Brahmacārī Lava was equipped with two quivers, one on either side, with his breast streaked with purifying ashes. He was clad in the skin of a deer called Ruru, and his lower garment was dyed red with madder and fastened to a girdle of mūrva grass. In his one hand he held a rosary, and a pippal staff in the other.[8] The routine of a *Brahmacārī* included study, service of his teacher, performance of religious rites, and begging of alms for subsistence. He was to lead a life of simplicity, chastity, restraint and discipline.[9]

The life of a *Gṛhastha* or householder commenced after the completion of education. This stage was associated with mani-

1. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 13.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), I, p. 47.
3. *Dhūrtākhyāna*, V, 41.
4. *MVC*, I, 17.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 24.
6. *IA*, Vol. III, p. 273.
7. *URC*, II, p. 53; *MVC*, I, 16.
8. *MVC*, I, 18.
9. *Kūrma P.*, II, XIV; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, II, 86, vv. 1-10.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

fold duties towards one's ownself, family and fellow beings.[1] During this stage, the flavour of worldly pleasures was tasted,[2] and religion was kept in consonance with *artha* and *kāma*.[3] Though highly praised by the *Dharmaśāstras*,[4] the *Gṛhasthāśrama* has been censured by Haribhadra who regarded it as a source of all miseries and troubles.[5]

Vānaprasthāśrama and Sanyāsa

The third stage has been referred to as *Vaikhānasa*[6] and *āraṇyakavrata*.[7] One could go to lead the life of a forest-ascetic with or without wife, after seeing the children of one's children. He was to live on vegetables, roots, fruits and water. He studied scriptures, performed religious rites and practised penances.[8] The Ikṣvāku kings resorted to *Vānaprasthāśrama* having seen the concomitants of the old age *viz.* grey hair and wrinkled skin, and having devolved the royal authority upon their sons.[9] Janaka is stated to have become a *Vaikhānasa* before the termination of his life as a householder and went to Candra-*dvīpa* to practise penances, failing to withstand the torture caused by the exile of his innocent daughter.[10] The forest dwellers neither perceived grief springing from attachment, nor were they subject to insults [11]

Bhavabhūti describes the functions of a forest-ascetic through Vaśiṣṭha who instructed Paraśurāma thus:

> 'You are a forest-ascetic. Hence you should possess the noble and purifying feelings like that of friendliness etc. You should practise *Yogic vṛtti* called *Jyotiṣmatī* which

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, II, 95, vv. 9-11.
2. *URC*, II, 22.
3. *Jānakī*, VI, 1.
4. Vide R.B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 264.
5. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 84-85.
6. *URC*, IV, p. 104.
7. *Ibid.*, I, 22.
8. *Kūrma P.*, II, XXVII.
9. *MVC*, IV, 51; *Jānakī*, X, vv. 2, 7.
10. *URC*, IV, p. 104.
11. *Samarā* (Modi), I, p. 17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

would take away your grief, dispel ignorance and make you enlightened.'[1]

During the third stage, contacts with worldly life were considerably restricted. The forest-ascetics did not stay in the *janapadas* for a long time;[2] and on account of leading a secluded life, a *Vānaprasthī* could not keep himself well acquainted with social conduct and manners. Thus when Paraśurāma was accused of entering into the female apartment of Janaka, he replied that he was a forest-ascetic and, therefore, was ignorant of the etiquettes observed in the family of Janaka.[3]

The *Vānaprasthīs* were also noted for their liberality, hospitality and compassion. We are informed that Vālmīki looked after the sons of Sītā like a foster mother.[4] He also used to entertain his guests with sumptuous dishes.[5] Thus these hermits "looked at life with a sense of detachment not usual for a *Gṛhastha* and a comprehension and warmth not expected of a *sanyāsin*."[6] *Sanyāsa* was the last stage in which the feeling of detachment alone was to be entertained.[7]

The *āśrama* scheme reveals an ideally planned way of life, but it was followed by only a small number of people in ancient India.

SAṀSKĀRAS

Saṁskāra has been defined as "religious purifying rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual."[8] The number of *saṁskāras* differs in the different texts, and it was only at a fairly late date that their standard number was regarded as sixteen.[9] In our sources there are

1. *MVC*, III, pp. 86-88.
2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 82.
3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 81.
4. *URC*, II, p. 53.
5. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 101-103.
6. *Indian Review* (1941), pp. 732-733.
7. *Jānakī*, X, 10.
8. R.B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 27.
9. The sixteen *saṁskāras* mentioned in the *Vyāsa Smṛti* are *Garbhādhāna*, *Puṁsavana*, *Sīmanta*, *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakriyā*, *Niṣkramaṇa*, *Annaprāśana*, *Vapanakriyā*, *Karṇavedha*, *Vratādeśa*, *Vedārambha*,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

scattered references to birth ceremony[1] (*Jātakarma*), baptisement[2] (*Nāmakaraṇa*), tonsure ceremony[3] (*Caulakarma*), initiation[4] (*Upanayana*), gift of the cows (*Godāna*)[5] marriage (*Vivāha*)[6] and funeral rite (*Agnisātkriya*).[7] As regards their details, we are told that the birth ceremony was performed with great eclat on the 12th[8] or 30th day[9] after the birth of a child; and that the day and time for it were fixed by astrologers.[10] *Upanayana* and *Godāna* were educational *saṁskāras*. A student could be admitted to the study of the Vedic literature after the performance of initiation, and that only the twice-born were entitled for it. It was generally performed in the 8th, 11th and 12th year by the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively.[11] *Godāna* seems to have lost its educational significance and was reduced to a mere formality[12] in the age under review. Like the *Āśvalāyanalaghusmṛti*,[13] Bhavabhūti alludes to the performance of the *Godāna* ceremony of Rāma and his brothers just before their marriage (*tatkālakṛtagodānamaṅgalāḥ*).[14] *Godāna* was also called *Keśānta*.[15]

Keśānta, *Snāna*, *Udvāha*, *Vivāhāgniparigraha* and *Tretāgnisaṁgraha* (see *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 35). Also see *HDS*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 193 ff.

1. *Jānakī*, IV, 7.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 58.
3. *URC*, II, p. 53.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, I, p. 25.
6. *MM*, VI, 6. Besides *Vivāha*, Bhavabhūti has used three other terms for marriage *viz. Pāṇigrahaṇa* (*Ibid.*, VI, p. 127), *Dārakriyā* (*MVC*, I, 13) and *Dārasaṅgraha* (*URC*, I, 19), but he has not pointed out their significance.
7. *MVC*, V, p. 179.
8. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 25.
9. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 58.
10. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 25.
11. *URC*, II, p. 53. For details and other views see *HDS*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 274-276.
12. *HDS*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 405.
13. According to *Laghu-Āśvalāyana Smṛti* (XIV, I), *Godāna* may be performed in the 16th year or at the time of marriage. Also see *HDS*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 403.
14. *URC*, I, p. 25.
15. Yājñavalkya (I, 36), Manu (2, 65) and others have used the word *Keśānta* for this *saṁskāra*, whereas the *Gṛhyasūtras* have called it *Godāna* (see Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Part I, p. 261). The term

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

All the sixteen *saṁskāras* or even majority of them were probably not generally performed by the people. Thus Bhavabhūti has mentioned only three sacraments *viz.* tonsure-ceremony, initiation,[1] and *Godāna*,[2] before marriage. Kumāradāsa makes mention of only baptisement of Rāma after which he is stated to have been trained in archery.[3] Similar information is furnished by Haribhadra in the context of the *saṁskāras* of a rich merchant's son.[4] And Udyotana refers to the birth ceremony and baptisement of prince Kuvalayacandra, after which he was entrusted to the care of a *lekhācārya*, for his education.[5]

The above-mentioned sacraments appear to have been more popular in the period under survey, but other *saṁskāras* had not gone into desuetude.

Marriage: Its Forms

Of the eight recognised forms of marriage *viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca*,[6] our sources refer to the following forms:

Godāna was given to it because it was marked by the gift of a cow to the teachers and gifts to the barber. And it was known as *Keśānta* as it consecrated the first shaving of the student's beard (R.B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 246) Vīrarāghava paraphrases it as *kṣaurakarma i.e.*, tonsure ceremony (*URC*, I, p. 25). It was generally performed in the 16th year and it marked the arrival of youth (Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 246; Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Part I, p. 261). According to Manu (II, 65), it should be performed in the 16th, 22nd and 24th year in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively.

1. *URC*, II, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 25.
3. *Jānakī*, IV, vv. 7-15.
4. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 58.
5. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 25.
6. In the *Brāhma* form, the girl was offered as a gift to a suitable bridegroom invited by her father. In *Daiva-vivāha* she was given to *ṛtvij* while he officiated at a sacrifice. When the bride received a pair of kine from the bridegroom according to the requirements of religion, it was known as *Ārṣa-vivāha*. If the girl was offered to a suitor on his demand, it was called *Prājāpatya*-marriage. The union between the two lovers with their mutual consent, without their parents' interfer-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Brāhma-vivāha

Bhavabhūti gives the following details of the *Brāhma-vivāha*[1] in connection with Mālatī's marriage: On the occasion of her wedding, the palace of the minister Bhūrivasu was flamboyantly decorated; the officials, servants and other persons were busy in the preparations for marriage. Hectic activities were seen everywhere. The Brāhmaṇas were chanting the Vedic mantras. Bedizened with cosmetics, gorgeous garments and ornaments, Mālatī mounted on an elephant and led the bridal procession to the temple of the city deity, being accompanied by courtesans singing auspicious songs. There she offered respects to the deity so that the marriage ceremony might pass off without any obstacle.[2] She then moved inside the shrine where Kāmandakī prayed:

> "May the creator bestow welfare upon us in respect of the charming (marriage) rites; may the gods vouchsafe an exceedingly happy ending; . . . may this attempt be fruitful in every way and lead to well-being."[3]

Meanwhile the doorkeeper reached the temple with a box of ornaments and instructions from the minister Bhūrivasu that Mālatī be decorated before the deity with the nuptial apparel presented by the king, whose minister he was. Other presents of the king consisted of sets of ornaments for all parts of the body, a pearl necklace, sandalpaste and a garland of white flowers.[4] She was then given entrance to the sanctuary where Kāmandakī instructed her thus, "The husband to women

ence was called *Gāndharva* marriage. In *Āsura-vivāha*, the husband accepted the bride after paying money to her relations etc. It was more or less a purchase. Capture of a girl by force while she was crying and weeping, after killing, injuring or scattering her relatives was *Rākṣasa vivāha*. In the *Paiśāca* form, a man cohabited with a girl while she was unconscious, sleeping or intoxicated (Manu, III, vv. 20-21, 27-34; Yājñavalkya, I, vv. 58-61).

1. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 272.
2. *MM*, VI, pp. 119-124.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, 7.
4. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 125-126.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and the lawfully wedded wife to men are the dearest friends, all relatives put together, all desires, a treasure or the life (itself)—let this be mutually borne by my dear ones."[1] Then Nandana was married to Makaranda who had disguised as Mālatī, in accordance with the plot arranged by Kāmandakī and her associates. The marriage was solemnised at the residence of Bhūrivasu where Nandana stayed for some time. He then took his wife (actually Makaranda in the guise of Mālatī) to his home where the entrance of the newly wedded wife was marked by the celebrations like those which took place on the occasion of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*.[2]

Haribhadra[3] furnishes a much fuller and interesting account of the *Brāhma-vivāha* while describing the marriage of prince Simha with Kusumāvalī. He informs us that an auspicious day and time were fixed for the marriage and a grand ovation was prepared. The bride after being bathed by the ladies whose husbands were alive, was lavishly bedecked. Leading the marriage procession, prince Simha proceeded towards bride's house on an elephant. While moving inside the house, he was held at the gate by a white cloth by the ladies who asked for the conventional presents. They then arranged his meeting with the bride. The bridegroom was again asked for the presents before unveiling the face of the bride. Music and rejoicings marked the celebrations of the marriage rituals. The prince then held the hand of the bride and both entered the wedding *paṇḍāl*. The people started giving presents consisting of garlands, betel, fine clothes, ornaments, elephants and horses. In the meantime the couple began to move around the fire in which the oblations of ghee and honey etc. were being offered. On the completion of the first round the father of the bride gave 1,00,000 pieces of unwrought gold, in the second the ornaments, in the third the silver vessels, and in the fourth the clothes of different varieties. And king Puruṣadatta, the father of prince Simha, showed courtesy to the people according to his status and gave precious ornaments to his daughter-in-law.

1. *MM*, VI, 18.
2. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 141.
3. *Samarā* (Modi), II, pp. 82-89.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kumāradāsa[1] and Udyotana[2] record these and several new details and add interesting information on the bed-ceremony which lasted for several nights and was marked by amorous talks, gestures and sports.

Gāndharva-vivāha

The following forms of marriage referred to in our sources may broadly be classed under the *Gāndharva-vivāha.*

(i) In the *Gauḍavaho* we find a reference to *sejjāpariṇayaṇa* (*śaiyyāpariṇayāṇām*) which has been explained by the commentator as *Gāndharva-vivāhāḥ.*[3] But this interpretation may not be correct.[4]

(ii) Mālatī's marriage with Mādhava was solemnised at some secluded spot. Bhavabhūti has described it as *corikā-vivāha*[5] *i.e.*, clandestine marriage. Makaranda and Madayantikā too had eloped to some distant place where their similar wedding was arranged. Jagaddhara comments that *corikā-vivāha* was disapproved by the *Dharmaśāstras.*[6]

Included as it was in the eight recognised forms of marriage, the *Gāndharva-vivāha* was perhaps never much popular in ancient India, and ancient writers were not unanimous with regard to its approval.[7] And despite his lofty concept of

1. *Jānakī*, chapter VII.
2. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 170-171, 173-174. Udyotana tells us that on the occasion of the marriage of the princess Kuvalayamālā, a high pavilion was built; fire-altar was coloured; floor of the palace was decorated; barley off-shoots were sown for adorning the *Vedī*; buntings, flags, fly-whisks and peacock-feathers added to the attraction of the palace (*Ibid.*, Part II, Introduction, p. 125).
3. *GV*, 1069 and comments of Haripāla.
4. The term *śaiyyā pariṇaya* to the best of our knowledge, has not been used for the *Gāndharva* marriage by any authority. Moreover, Vākpati has not clearly mentioned that the love marriages had taken place.
5. *MM*, I, p. 15, VI, p. 140.
6. *Corikayāvivāhasya dharmaśāstre niṣedhātibhāvaḥ*, *Ibid.*, I, p. 15.
7. See *PWHC*, pp. 66-69.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

love,[1] Bhavabhūti has censured love marriage in no uncertain terms. He says that, "Generally father and fate have command over their daughters. Historians narrate that Śakuntalā fell in love with Duṣyanta, . . . Urvaśī with Purūravasa, Vāsavadattā with Udayana, though given by their parents to king Sañjaya etc. All this savours of rashness and, therefore, such a course cannot be recommended."[2]

Svayaṁvara-vivāha

In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Bhavabhūti refers to the *Svayaṁvara-vivāha* of Sītā.[3] But this form of marriage has been referred to here only because the play is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Its mention does not point to its prevalence in Bhavabhūti's period, as is evidenced by the following facts:

(i) Viśvāmitra is mentioned to have already said that he was to arrange Sītā's marriage with Rāma,[4] before any reference was made to her *Svayaṁvara*.
(ii) The word *Svayaṁvara* does not occur anywhere in the context. The wedding has been very summarily described. There is no mention of any contestant, much less of the opportunity given to any one else[5] except Rāma to break the bow of Lord Śiva.
(iii) Sītā's sisters were not wedded through *Svayaṁvara*.[6]

1. He states, "Love does not depend on any tangible cause. Some inconceivable internal reason binds together the objects" (*MM*, I, p. 28).
   Bhavabhūti describes its three stages, *viz.* the love at first sight followed respectively by the sole devotion of the mind and physical exhaustion (*Ibid.*, VI, 15).
2. *MM*, II, pp. 56-57.
3. *MVC*, Act I.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 13.
5. Rāvaṇa's representative Sarvamāya is stated to have come to Mithilā only to convey the message to Janaka and others, that his lord wanted to marry Sītā (*Ibid.*, Act I). But Rāvaṇa was not invited to take part in the contest.
6. *MVC*, I, 58.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kumāradāsa describes the bow of Lord Śiva as the price for the purchase of Sītā,[1] but he actually details the ceremonies of the *Brāhma-vivāha* in connection with her *Svayaṁvara*.[2] Udyotana Sūri mentions the *Svayaṁvara* marriage of the princess Kuvalayamālā.[3] But such instances may be treated as exceptions.

Rākṣasa-vivāha

It was mainly prevalent among the Kṣatriyas. Although the enlightened Kṣatriyas began to disapprove it from about the 3rd century A.D.,[4] *Rakṣasa-vivāha*, however, persisted in later times. In the *Samarāiccakahā* we are told that prince Śiśupāla of Koṅkaṇa wanted to marry the daughter of king Śrīprabha of Ujjain. But Śrīprabha settled her marriage with Śrīvijaya. And when the marriage ceremony commenced, Śiśupāla mounted an attack, but was foiled in his bid to carry away the princess.[5] Thus it was an unsuccessful attempt for the *Rākṣasa* form of marriage. The *Mahāvīracarita* refers to Rāvaṇa's threat to abduct Sītā.[6] But there is also a historical example of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra I who had forcibly taken away the Cāḷukya princess Bhavanāgā from the marriage-paṇḍāl at Kairā.[7] However, the instances of the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* were few and far between.

Marriageable Age

From c. 200 A.D., the *Smṛti* writers began to advocate pre-puberty marriages[8] which were all the more emphasised by the later *Dharmaśāstras*.[9] The ramification of caste system from about the 8th century A.D. further accentuated the practice of child marriages.[10] The evidence of the different works of Bhava-

1. *Jānakī*, VI, 47.
2. *Ibid.*, VII, vv. 39-60.
3. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 45.
4. *PWHC*, p. 38.
5. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 13.
6. *MVC*, I, 59.
7. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243.
8. *PWHC*, pp. 56-57; Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 275-276.
9. *ZDMG*, 1893, p. 153.
10. *PWHC*, p. 39.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bhūti on the age of marriage appears rather irreconcilable. In the *Uttararāmacarita*, Sītā is described as a child at the time of her marriage with 'her teeth not dense because some had fallen off at intervals' (*patanu* or *pratanu viralaiḥ*).[1] We are further told that Rāma had brought up Sītā from her very childhood by giving her whatever things she liked,[2] and that she was unaware of the coquetries of youth at the time of her wedding.[3] Two verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seem to show that Sītā was only six years old when her marriage took place.[4] But the evidence of these verses is dubious.[5] However, Bhavabhūti who made several changes in the original epic theme, would not have followed the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, if it was incompatible with the practice of his period.

But the *Mahāvīracarita*[6] like *Jānakīharaṇa*[7] shows Sītā as a fully grown up girl when she was married. The *Gāndharva* marriages of Mālatī and Madayantikā, too, were solemnised at their mature age, when they had become fully conversant with erotic feelings and gestures. In the *Samarāiccakahā* we are told that the daughter of a rich merchant was married when she attained her youth.[8] Similarly, the parents of the princess

1. Vīrarāghava explains it thus: *prasthitadaśanapatanena viralaiḥ* (*URC*, I, p. 27); and Ghaṇaśyāma interprets it as *madhye madhye dantānām patanena-viralaiḥ gartasāmantairiti bhāvaḥ* (*Ibid.*, Kane's edition, I, p. 14). The word *pratanu* which has been substituted for *patanu* in certain *MSS*. means thin or small. Thus this word also points to her tender age.
2. *URC*, I, 45.
3. *Ibid.*, I, 20.
4. Araṇyakāṇḍa, 47, vv. 10-11.
5. These verses appear to be interpolations, because in the Bālakāṇḍa (77, vv. 16-17) she as well as her sisters are presented as grown up girls indulging in romance and sexual intercourse immediately after their marriage (see also Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Part I. p. 276; *PWHC*, p. 53).
6. *MVC*, I, pp. 22 ff.
7. Kumāradāsa describes at length the romantic adventures of Sītā just after her marriage (*Jānakī*, chapter VII). Similarly, Sumitrā has also been shown as a fully grown up girl when her wedding took place (*Ibid.*, I, 32).
8. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 6.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kuvalayamālā are stated to have enquired about her marriage on her becoming a *yuvatī*.[1]

Notwithstanding the information of other contemporary sources to the contrary, the evidence of the *Uttararāmacarita* regarding child-marriage appears to reflect the true tradition of the time. This inference gains support not only from the views of the later *Smṛti* writers who expressly emphasised the pre-puberty marriages,[2] but also from the facts that girls were usually deprived of educational facilities[3] and that they had no say in their marriage which was settied by their parents.[4]

Important Considerations in Marriage

Great importance was attached to the family and personal qualities of the would-be partners. When Kāmandakī was informed of Bhūrivasu's decision to marry Mālatī to Nandana who was an ill-assorted match, she surprisingly said "How has this been started regardless of merits?"[5] Lavaṅgikā, too, made a similar remark: "Why did the minister (Bhūrivasu) not think of and hesitate in giving his daughter to that bridegroom of past youth and ugly appearance?"[6] We are also told that Lavaṅgikā and Mālatī were anxious to know about the family of Mādhava,[7] whereas Makaranda is stated to have been

1. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 162.
2. See B.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India*, p. 15.
3. See Asahāya's comment in Altekar's *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, p. 166.
4. Bhavabhūti observes that "Generally father and fate have the command over their daughters" (*MM*, II, pp. 56-57). It is illustrated with the example of Mālatī who though besotted by her avowed love for Mādhava, could not dare to oppose the unjust decision of her parents and helplessly said, "Let Madana burn me; what further than death would he bring about. But to me are dear my father and my mother of spotless family" (*Ibid.*, II, 2). This is further evident from the fact that when Rāvaṇa's *Purohita* Sarvamāya approached Viśvāmitra and put before him Rāvaṇa's desire to marry Sītā, he (Viśvāmitra) advised him to contact her father for the matter (*MVC*, I, 41 and comments of Vīrarāghava).
5. *MM*, II, 7.
6. *Ibid.*, II, p. 46.
7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 48.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

impressed by Mālatī's esteemed family, beauty, virtues and depth of affection.[1] He also warned her not to get her judgment overpowered by impure emotions.[2] These references show that lineage, virtues, age and appearance were important considerations in the settlement of marriage.

Monogamy, Polygamy and Polyandry

Monogamy was the general practice as before, and polygamy was mainly confined to royal and well-to-do Kṣatriya families.[3] The reference to (three) queens of Daśaratha[4] in the works of Bhavabhūti is traditional. But its prevalence in the age under review is attested by the examples of Dāhir,[5] Yaśovarman[6] and Lalitāditya[7] who were polygamous. Haribhadra alludes to four wives of king Kuśadhvaja.[8]

Polyandry was never favoured. And there is no historical example except that of Draupadī.[9] Commenting on Manu (IX, 101) Bhāruci quotes the authority of *śrutis* to the effect that a man can have more than one wife but not *vice versa*. A woman commits sin, he adds, even at the thought of any other man except that of her own husband.[10]

POSITION OF WOMEN

Sanskrit poets and playwrights evinced special interest in the portraiture of female characters. Bhavabhūti like Kālidāsa

1. *MM*, VI, 17.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 32.
3. See *Śākuntalam*, III, p. 49.
4. *URC*, I, p. 18.
5. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 84.
6. *PC*, XI, 54.
7. Kalhaṇa refers to three queens of Lalitāditya (*RT*, IV, vv. 208, 212, 213).
8. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IX, pp. 785-786.
9. Alberuni refers to its prevalence among the hilly people living in the region stretching from Panchir to the neighbourhood of Kashmir (Sachau, Vol. I, p. 108).
10. . . . *ekasya* (*puruṣasya*) *bahvyo jāyā bhavanti naikasyā bahavaḥ saha patayaḥ iti śrutiḥ. Striyāstu puruṣāntarasaṁkalpenāpi vyabhicāra ityuktaṁ* (*Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 19).

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

has presented them in their manifold forms and facets. And the women of his plays are not conventional or the replicas of their counterparts in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Therefore, they betray the characteristic features of Bhavabhūti's period. The *Uttararāmacarita* introduces us to ideal female characters; the *Mahāvīracarita* brings out distinctive features of the women of the north and south; and the ladies of the *Mālatīmādhava* are most realistic and representative. Vākpati, Kumāradāsa, Haribhadra, Bhāruci, Asahāya and others furnish fragmentary information on several aspects of women.

Female Education: Subjects of Study

The practice of marrying the girls much before puberty which had commenced in the time of early *Smṛtis*,[1] and gained popularity in later periods,[2] considerably restricted the scope of female education. In the age under review, we find that the ladies of even royal and well-to-do families generally learnt only painting, music, dance, garland-making, sports and a few other arts and crafts,[3] and were seldom imparted higher education. From the *Mālatīmādhava* we gather that Mālatī who was the daughter of the Brāhmaṇa minister Bhūrivasu knew only painting[4] and a few other arts and sports.[5] There is no reference to any arrangement made for her proper education. And in the *Uttararāmacarita*, Sītā has been presented as a child at the time of her marriage,[6] hence the question of her education did not arise. It may also be noted that except the goddesses and female ascetics who speak in Sanskrit, all other female characters in Bhavabhūti's plays invariably talk in Prakrit. While recording the story of a rich merchant's daughter, Haribhadra omits all reference to her education. He only tells us

1. A.S. Altekar, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, pp. 163-164.
2. Vide B.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India*, p. 15.
3. *MM*, I, pp. 17-18, 37-38, III, p. 72; *Samarā* (Modi), I, pp. 23, 74-75, 80.
4. *MM*, I, pp. 17-18, 37-38.
5. *Ibid.*, III, p. 72.
6. *URC*, I, vv. 20, 45.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that she was given a name, and that when she attained her youth, she was married.[1]

But there are also references to learned ladies. Thus Ātreyī is stated to have studied the Vedānta from Vālmīki and Agastya;[2] and the Buddhist nuns Kāmandakī and Saudāminī learnt *ānvīkṣikī* (logic or metaphysics) at Padmāvatī.[3] Other scattered references bear out the proficiency of these nuns in *yogaśāstra*,[4] Hindu scriptures[5] and folklore.[6] Another nun named Bālacandrā had good grounding in canonical scriptures.[7] In the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, Khaṇḍapānā is mentioned to have written a treatise on the *Arthaśāstra*. She had mastered the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and outrivalled all her rivals in religious discussions.[8] The *Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* tells us that the daughters of the Brāhmaṇa Śomaśarmā of Varanasi were well versed in the *Vedas*, scriptures and grammar.[9]

Co-education

Bhavabhūti throws very interesting light on co-education. In the *Uttararāmacarita* we are told that Ātreyī was a class mate of Kuśa and Lava at the hermitage of Vālmīki. But on account of a far superior grasp of those boys, she could not keep pace with them. Ātreyī, therefore, left the Vālmīki-*āśrama* and went to the Daṇḍaka forest to study Vedānta from sage Agastya.[10] In the *Mālatīmādhava*, the nuns Kāmandakī and Saudāminī are mentioned to have studied *ānvīkṣikī* at Padmāvati with their male class fellows Devarāta and Bhūrivasu.[11] These are perhaps

1. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 6.
2. *URC*, II, 3.
3. Jagaddhara interprets *ānvīkṣikī* as *nyāyaśāstra i.e.*, logic (*MM*, I, p. 14). For a detailed information on *ānvīkṣikī* see S.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 1-37.
4. *MM*, IX, p 196.
5. *Ibid.*, II, p. 53.
6. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 56-57.
7. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 92.
8. *Dhūrtākhyāna*, pp. 24, 31.
9. *Jain HVP*, XXI, vv. 131-132
10. *URC*, II, 3.
11. *MM*, I, p. 14.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the earliest clear descriptions of co-education.[1]

These references, however, do not bear out that adequate opportunities were provided for female education, for none of these occurs in the context of a common girl or woman. Buddhist nuns and other female ascetics particularly the former, generally did not marry and were rather obliged to have the knowledge of their religion.

They were also free to move and could go to distant places for education and study with the students of opposite sex. Similarly if certain families of the learned Brāhmaṇas provided higher education to their daughters, they should be taken as exceptions. And an idea of the actual state of female education in the age under review may perhaps be had from the comment of Asahāya who significantly remarks that women were denied the opportunity to study the *śāstras*. Therefore, their intellect was not so developed as to enable them to have the knowledge of right and wrong.[2]

Women in the Family and Social Life

In the *Uttararāmacarita* we are told that the queens of Daśaratha and Vaśiṣṭha's wife Arundhatī had sent a message from the hermitage of Riṣyaśṛaṅga instructing Rāma to fulfil all desires of the pregnant Sītā;[3] and he did accordingly.[4] At another place, the forest-goddess Vāsantī expresses surprise as to how the unjust act (of exiling Sītā) was done when the queen mothers were alive and the family of Raghu was presided over by Arundhatī. And she was told that those aged ladies were

1. It has been held that the *Atharvaveda* (III, 8, 4) refers to the head of an educational institution who asked a newly admitted boy student to live in harmony with the ladies, according to the wishes of the provost (*Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, p. 319). But this interpretation of the said portion of the *Atharvaveda* does not seem to be correct.
2. *Śāstrādhyayanānadhikāratvāt śāstramātropajīvi-dharmādharmajñānābhāvāt asvātantryam*, On Nārada, XIII, 30, quoted by Altekar in *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, p. 166.
3. *URC*, I, pp. 12, 18.
4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 20, 36-37.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

not at Ayodhya at the time of Sītā's exile.[1] These references have been taken as an evidence of the great influence of elderly women whose wishes and orders could not be ignored in the family matters.[2] But this scanty information hardly warrants us to draw such a conclusion. The wishes of the queens prevailed because they were the eldest living members in the family. Secondly, the context makes their interference more relevant than that of any male member. In fact the *Rāmāyaṇa* on which the theme of the *Uttararāmacarita* is based, brings into bold relief Rāma's obedience to his parents. But it was limited probably only to domestic affairs. And it is very difficult to believe that Rāma would have altered his decision to banish his wife even if his mothers had been present and pleaded otherwise. For he did it for the appeasement of his subjects whose ideal king he was. It is significant to mark that in the settlements of the marriages of Mālatī and Sītā's sisters, the desire and choice of the father alone prevailed; and we do not find aged ladies having their say on any important matter anywhere else in the works of Bhavabhūti.

Following earlier writers,[3] Bhavabhūti regards wife as an inseparable partner of her husband in the performance of sacrifices (*yajñesahadharmacāriṇī*).[4] Rāma, therefore, could perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in the absence of Sītā, only after placing her golden image beside.[5] But the presence of ladies even on such occasions had become a mere formality rather than a necessity long before Bhavabhūti's period.

Observance of Purdā

Sanskrit works often refer to *avaguṇṭhana* (veil) and *antaḥpura* (female-apartment or harem). The former finds mention in connection with married ladies[6] and the latter in the

1. *URC*, II, p. 56.
2. Ratnamayidevi Dikshit, *Women in Sanskrit Dramas*, pp. 222-223.
3. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Part I, pp. 315-317.
4. *URC*, II, p. 56.
5. *URC*, III, p. 96.
6. Śūdraka (*Mṛcchakaṭika*, IV, 24) refers to the difficult position of wife with its accompaniment, the veil Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā while a maiden freely met and mixed up with a stranger like Duṣyanta (*Śākuntalam*,

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

context of royal families. In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Rāma is stated to have asked Sītā to veil her face when Paraśurāma arrived.[1] Jagaddhara explains the absence of veil as an index of maidenhood.[2] Vākpati presents the ladies with a head-scarf of net-like silk which also served the purpose of a veil. Thus while wanting to see their lovers, they removed their veils and assumed a posture like that of an archer while drawing an arrow.[3]

As regards *antaḥpura*, its provision was usually confined to royal families. Kings did not favour the idea of exposing their ladies to public gaze. And, therefore, when Paraśurāma entered the female-apartment of king Janaka, the latter reprobated him.[4]

Thus *purdā* was observed only by the married ladies before their elders, and there was not much restriction on the movement of women. Bhavabhūti[5] and Vākpati[6] refer to ladies bathing in the rivers and ponds, and sporting there in public. They were also active participants in the festival called *Madanamahotsava* which is stated to have been arranged by the ladies themselves.[7] On such festive occasions men and women met with one another without much reservations and also had an opportunity for courtship. From the *Uttararāmacarita* we learn that Kauśalyā and Arundhatī went to the hermitage of Vālmīki[8] without being accompanied by any male person; and Ātreyī made a long journey from the Vālmīki-*āśrama* to the

Act I, 3), but when she appeared as a wife in his court, her face was veiled (*Ibid.*, V, 14). In the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, Padmāvatī does not observe *purdā* in her maidenhood; but after her marriage she avoided to be exposed to the public gaze. The evidence of *Nāgānanda* (Act I) also confirms it (see *PWHC*, p. 170).

1. *MVC*, II, p. 63. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (12, 11) too, a daughter-in-law is mentioned to have shown reticence before her father-in-law.
2. *Kumārītvenāvaguṇṭhanapaṭādyabhāvāttadunnayanamitibhāvaḥ* (*MM*, I, p. 25).
3. *GV*, 1136.
4. *MVC*, II, 50.
5. *MM*, IV, pp. 86-87.
6. *GV*, vv. 777-781.
7. *MM*, I, p. 24.
8. *URC*, IV, p. 107.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Daṇḍaka forest all alone. The *Samarāiccakahā* refers to ladies who had accompanied their husbands to foreign countries.[1]

In Warfare and Politics

Bhavabhūti presents south Indian women as active participants in politics. He tells us that when Rāvaṇa showed his complete unawareness of the danger of Rāma's invasion, Mandodarī apprised him of the gravity of situation.[2] Another lady named Śramaṇā is said to have been sent by Vibhīṣaṇa with a letter to be handed over to Rāma.[3] She informed Rāma about Hanumān, Sugrīva and Vāli and conducted him to Riṣyamūka.[4] She also appreciated the activities of expert spies.[5] Among the women of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, Śūrpaṇakhā is shown to have played most prominent part in politics. She has been presented as a close associate of Mālyavān who deputed her to instigate Paraśurāma against Rāma. But she warned him of the inevitable catastrophe in case of the failure of their plan.[6] Again, when Mālyavān asked her to enter into the body of Maṅtharā in order to manipulate Rāma's exile, she replied that it was impolitic to bring Rāma closer to the territory (of the Rākṣasas) and be enemical with him on the issue of a woman.[7] It has been held that the whole group led by Śūrpaṇakhā is quite unique and unprecedented in Sanskrit literature. Bhavabhūti must have witnessed in the Dravidian society such an ennobling condition of women; and that he was first who dared to show this aspect of the ladies.[8]

Hailing as he did from Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Bhavabhūti had an intimate knowledge of the women of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. But how far his characterisation of these ladies is based on reality is difficult to determine; because it is neither confirmed nor contradicted by historical examples of the period. However,

1. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IV, p. 197.
2. *MVC*, VI, pp. 203 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, V, p. 181.
4. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 181 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, V, p. 197.
6. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 125, 129-130.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 118 ff.
8. R. Dikshit, *Women in Sanskrit Dramas*, p. 201.

 Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the contention that only Dravidian women were daring and active in politics in a marked contrast to extremely reticent, fearful and dependent north Indian ladies,[1] can hardly be endorsed. And there is at least one historical example in this context to contradict it. Rānī Bāī, the wife of king Dāhir of Sind, gallantly fought with the forces of Kāsim after the death of her husband, and when she became certain about her defeat, she set herself ablaze.[2]

Relative Position of Husband and Wife

In the *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti has idealised conjugal love and the relationship between husband and wife. He presents Rāma entertaining Sītā with the scenes of a picture gallery when she felt nostalgia after the departure of her father.[3] After seeing the pictures she desired to take a bath in the Gaṅgā, and Rāma at once asked Lakṣamaṇa to conduct her there.[4] Subsequently, Rāma as an ideal king exiled faultless Sītā to appease his subjects.[5] But the pangs of her separation overtook him and he expressed his emotions thus:

'Ever since my marriage, my arm has exclusively been her pillow.'[6] 'From her very childhood I fostered her by giving whatever things she liked.'[7] 'She is identical in pleasures and pains, and favourable in all conditions.'[8] 'Sītā is the prosperity of my house. Everything about her is pleasing except her separation.'[9] 'Now the world is bereft of all interest and the purpose of my life has ended. I have been left with no resort.' 'I touch your feet.'[10]

Later on when Rāma revisited the Daṇḍaka forest to slay the Śūdra Śambuka, his shock was revived and he again gave

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-201.
2. *HS*, Vol. I, pp. 73-75.
3. *URC*, I pp. 20-36.
4. *Ibid*, I, pp. 36-37.
5. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 44-45.
6. *Ibid.*, I, 37.
7. *Ibid.*, I, 45. Also see *Kuṭṭanī*, 440, for a similar idea.
8. *Ibid.*, I, 39.
9. *Ibid.*, 1, 38.
10. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 46-48.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

vent to his compassionate feelings steeped in extreme pathos.[1] But Sītā did not remonstrate against the cruel act of her husband, and she was only pleased to see him properly performing his kingly duties.[2] Marked as she was for her wifely fidelity and charity of judgment, Sītā appreciated Rāma's limitations; and like her counterpart in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[3] and the heroine of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*,[4] she only resigned to her fate[5] rather than accusing her husband. And Sītā also blamed the forest-deity Vāsantī when she (Vāsantī) retorted king Rāma for his unqualified act.[6] The facts that Rāma was really remorseful of his sinful deed and that he represented Sītā by a golden image at the horse-sacrifice were enough to gratify her.[7] Bhavabhūti seems to have pleaded the equality of men and women through the statement of Arundhatī: 'I worship Sītā for her virtues, (for) it is the qualities which count, rather than age or sex.'[8]

But in actual life, women had to live under the domination of their husbands. In the *Uttararāmacarita* we are told that when Sītā went to her husband without taking his prior permission, she was afraid that it could displease him.[9] It is more clearly borne out by the evidence of the *Mālatīmādhava* where Bhavabhūti makes Lavaṅgikā say:

"These (harsh tone and feeling of dominance on the part of husband) are indeed great indignities that cause aversion to residence at the husband's house. They are unbearable upto the death, and remembering which the relations consider the birth of a girl as unwelcome."[10] At another place we are told that the

1. *URC*, III, pp. 74 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, III, p. 72.
3. *RV*, XIV, 57.
4. *Śākuntalam*, VII, p. 137.
5. *Kīdṛsaṁ me abhāgyāyāḥ sanāthatvam*, *URC*, VII, p. 169.
6. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 83 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 96-97.
8. *Ibid.*, IV, 11. Dāmodaragupta also supports the idea of the equal status of husband and wife, but he did not endorse it to the extent of incurring the displeasure of the husband on any issue (*Kuṭṭanī*, 441). Also see *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, II, p. 32; *Jānakī*, IX, 64.
9. *URC*, III, p. 75. Also see *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, II, p. 32; *Jānakī*, IX, 64.
10. *MM*, VII, p. 145.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

husband must be treated by his wife as he desires.[1] Kumāradāsa supports and substantiates it. His observations may be summarised as follows:

"Women do not contribute to the elevation of men. Men alone are the cause of their (women's) prosperity. The dignity of the ladies lies in the happiness of their lords. They should not speak in harsh tone even though they are angry with their husbands, for silence is their greatest weapon. A virtuous lady makes her husband dutiful, but a bad woman gets severe slight from him."[2] Asahāya justifies the tutelage of women on the ground that their intellect is not developed like that of men on account of not having the benefit of proper training and education.[3]

Position of Widows

The prejudice against the remarriage of widows seems to have been intensified from about the close of the 6th century A.D.[4] In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Laṅkā bemoans her widowhood,[5] and Śūrpaṇakhā is stated to have lost all the pleasures of worldly life on account of her prolonged widowhood.[6] Vākpati presents widows with their mournful mien, broken bangles and ruffled hair.[7] Haribhadra makes mention of a widow who earned her livelihood by doing jobs in others' houses,[8] and Bhāruci refers to the *śilpas* such as knitting and lace-making (*jālikā-karaṇam*) by which a sonless widow could fend her subsistence. He also adds that she should not earn it by washing others' clothes.[9] Elucidating his comment on the superiority of customs to written law, Asahāya refers to the remarriage of widows which

1. *MM*, VII, p. 146. Also see *Śākuntalam*, V, 28.
2. *Jānakī*, IX, vv. 4-7.
3. On Nārada, XIII, 33, quoted by Altekar in *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇ-apaddhati*, p. 166.
4. *PWHC*, p. 154. The evidence of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* also shows that Rājyaśrī was not remarried (*HC*, VIII, pp. 458-459).
5. *MVC*, VII, p. 218.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 150.
7. *GV*, vv. 218, 1042-1043, 1062.
8. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VII, p. 583.
9. On Manu, IX, 75. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, p. 12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was sanctioned in sacred law-books, but was opposed to the established practice.[1] He adds that a widow could be remarried if she was young and beautiful and belonged to a good family. She could also be kept as a handmaid.[2] Bhāruci like earlier *Dharmaśāstras*[3] allowed *niyoga* to childless widows.[4]

Custom of Satī

The custom of *satī* gained in popularity from about the close of the 4th century.[5] The *Smṛti* writers from c. 400 to 700 A.D. applaud this social malady in glowing terms.[6] And according to Māgha, a woman who burns herself to death after seeing her husband dead in battle, attains the *daiva-yoni*.[7] Dāhir's wife Rānī Bāī committed herself to flames after the death of her husband.[8] Haribhadra refers to a lady who mounted on the pyre of her husband so that she could be united with him in the next life.[9]

The above account clearly bears out that the position of women was unenviable. Girls were seldom given proper education and they had hardly any say in the settlement of their marriage which was generally exclusively their father's responsibility. Women had to live under the domination of their lords. In the case of considerate husbands, the subordination had some grace; otherwise it was a total tutelage. The growing prejudice against the remarriage of widows and popularity of the custom of *satī* also point to their miserable condition. Bhavabhūti's concept of conjugal love and relationship between husband and wife as embodied in the *Uttararāmacarita* is obviously ideal and does not reflect the real notion of his time. However, his contribution lies in the fact that he put his radical views before the

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 15, on verse 40.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 48, on verse 23.
3. See Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Part I, pp. 333-34.
4. *HDS*, Vol. I, p. 266.
5. See *PWHC*, pp. 117-123.
6. *SWAI*, p. 118.
7. *Śiśupāla*, XVIII, vv. 60-61.
8. *HS*, Vol. I, pp. 74-75.
9. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VIII, p. 665.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

people and advocated the equality of men and women based on their merits.

Food and Drinks

Our sources supply very meagre information on food preparations. Bhavabhūti refers to a few food articles in connection with the reception accorded to Janaka and Vaśiṣṭha by Vālmīki. He tells us that Janaka being a vegetarian, was offered *madhuparka i.e.*, curds and butter mixed with honey.[1] Vaśiṣṭha was a meat-eater; he was, therefore, entertained with the meat of a heifer. Bhavabhūti quotes the authority of the *Dharmasūtras* in support of the offering of meat to a *śrotriya* guest: "In acceptance of the holy texts, the offering of reception should be accompanied by a dish of meat. Householders offer a heifer, a big bull or a goat to a *śrotriya* coming as a guest."[2] *Śrotriya* was also offered *madhuparka*.[3] The preparations of rice[4] and meat of a pig[5] are also mentioned.

The use of different drinks has been popular in India from fairly early times.[6] An idea of the importance attached to drinks may be had from the accounts of the *Śākuntalam*,[7] the *Śiśupālavadha*[8] and the *Ādi Purāṇa*.[9]

Our sources allude to *surā*,[10] *madya*,[11] *madirā*,[12] *madhu*,[13]

1. See Todarmall, *MVC*, p. 237; Kane, *URC*, notes, p. 121.
2. *URC*, IV, p. 103. Also see *MVC*, III, 2. According to Manu (III, vv. 119-120), *madhuparka* was to be offered to such honourable guests as king, *ṛtvij*, *śrotriya*, son-in-law, father-in-law, and maternal uncle.
3. *MVC*, III, 44.
4. *URC*, IV, I; Nālandā inscription, *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45.
5. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 98.
6. See *Vedic Age*, p. 393.
7. A police inspector says to a fisherman, 'You are now my friend. Let us go to a liquor-shop so that *kādambarī* (wine) be the witness of our first friendship (*Śākuntalam*, VI, p. 97).
8. Kṛṣṇa was asked to enter into a treaty with Śiśupāla and be honoured by enjoying drinks with him (*Śiśupāla*, XVI, 12).
9. Jinasena refers to a bibulous woman who killed a boy; obtained from him an ornament; sold it in the market and purchased wine (*Ādi P.*, XLVI, vv. 281-282).
10. *GV*, 648; *MM*, VII, 5.
11. *MM*, VII, 4.
12. *GV*, vv. 162, 690, 781, 864; *MM*, I, p. 25.
13. *Jānakī*, III, vv. 69-70.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

āsava[1] and *soma*.[2] All of these with the exception of *soma*[3] were intoxicating liquors. Vākpati tells us that *madirā* intoxicated a person only when it was taken in a sufficient quantity;[4] and Bhavabhūti alludes to its pleasant odour.[5] *Madhu* appears to have been more intoxicating.[6] *Āsava* has been mentioned by Kumāradāsa as a synonym of *madhu*.[7] A favourite drink in the Vedic period, *soma* continued to be used in later times. It was usually drunk by the *Brāhmaṇas* and sages on sacrificial occasions,[8] and was regarded as a purifying beverage.[9] The preparation of *soma* is controversial.[10] Asahāya explains it as a "juice of the *soma* plant which was offered to gods at a sacrifice."[11] Jagaddhara also gives a similar description of *soma* and associates it with *soma* sacrifice.[12]

Drinks were taken both by men and women. Vākpati makes mention of the ladies enjoying drinks.[13] In the *Jānakīharaṇa*, Daśaratha is stated to have enjoyed drinks in the company of women while sporting in water.[14] And according to Kumārila, even the Brāhmaṇa ladies indulged in drinking in Mathura and Ahichchhatra.[15]

1. *Jānakī*, III, vv. 73, 76.
2. *MM*, I, p. 7; *URC*, I, p. 16.
3. There is no evidence to show in the *Ṛgveda*, *Avestā* or in later Indian literature that *soma* was an intoxicating drink. It was taken at sacrifices with symbolic significance (*Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. X, pp. 90-105).
4. *GV*, 864.
5. *MM*, I, p. 25.
6. We are told that the eyes of the ladies who drank *madhu*, at once became reddish on account of intoxication (*Jānakī*, III, 71).
7. *Ibid.*, III, vv. 73, 75.
8. *MVC*, I, p. 7; *MM*, I, p. 7; *URC*, I, p. 16.
9. *Jānakī*, VII, 34.
10. See *FDAI*, pp. 303-304.
11. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 57, on verse 62.
12. *Somo latā viśeṣo hutaśeṣo vā tatpāyinaḥ. Anena-somayāgayājitvamuktam*, on *MM*, I, p. 7.
13. *GV*, vv. 690, 781.
14. *Jānakī*, III, vv. 69-70, VIII, 95.
15. *FDAI*, p. 185, note 3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dress

Like earlier periods, stitched and unstitched, plain as well as dyed garments were used. Differences of sex, status, profession and climate etc. were generally reflected in clothing. We, however, get very little information on the dress of men. The male figures on the terracotta plaques from Pahārpur generally wear short dhotī reaching the knees, and an upper garment, both presumably of cotton. In some cases a longer dhotī going upto the ankles is also noticed. Its one end is tucked up behind as a kacchā and the other shown loose in a serpentile curl in front.[1] From the *Caca-Nāmā* we learn that the dress of the people of Sind normally consisted of the under, lower and upper garments. in addition to head dress.[2]

Our information regarding the dress of women is fuller and interesting. The clothing of married women was probably generally a little more elaborate than that of maidens.[3] In the lower garments we find references to *nīvī*,[4] *antarīya*,[5] and *paridhāna*.[6] *Nīvī* roughly resembled the modern petticoat and it was tied by a knot on the loins.[7] We are told that its knot got loose by the tremor of the thighs caused by sexual desire.[8] The meanings of

1. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 67.
2. *HS*, Vol. I, p. 90; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 76.
3. From the *Mālatīmādhava* we learn that Mādhava inferred the maidenhood of Mālatī from the simplicity of her clothing (*MM*, I, p. 25). In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, the jester is stated to have assured the king that the statue (of a lady seen by him) was that of a maiden, on the basis of her dress (*VSB*, I, p. 56). According to G.S. Ghurye, the main distinction between the dress of a married lady and an unmarried one was that whereas the former wore a skirt which did not require the arrangement of a knot, the latter (married woman) put on a garment which was fastened by a knot (*Indian Costume*, p. 243). Our sources, however, do not specify the difference.
4. *MM*, II, 5.
5. *Jānakī*, III, 48.
6. *Ibid.*, VIII, 11.
7. The knot of the wearing garment was also called *nīvī* (*jaghanavastrabandhanaṁ nīvī*, Jagaddhara on *MM*, II, 5, pp. 53-54; *nīvīnāmantarīyanivasanagranthirucchayākhyaḥ*, Tripurāri on *MM*, II, p. 60).
8. *MM*, III, p. 66; *Śiśupāla*, IX, 84, X, 51.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

antarīya and *paridhāna* are not clear in the context. In the *Amarakośa* both the terms have been used for sārī.[1]

Vākpati makes mention of *ṇavaraṅgaya* which has been explained by the commentator as *kausumbhavāsasā*.[2] S.P. Pandit translates it as "newly dyed sārīs".[3] These were worn by ladies on the occasions of village festivities.[4] In the *Mālatīmādhava*, *colaka* has been included in the marital dress of Mālatī.[5] According to G.S. Ghurye,[6] Makaranda later on disguised himself as Mālatī by putting on the same *colaka* to get married to Nandana,[7] and that when he suspected the arrival of Madayantikā, Makaranda again covered himself with it so that he might pass for Mālatī.[8] Ghurye takes *colaka* to be a coga like loose-tailored garment which was large enough to cover the whole body to the extent of concealing one's real identity.[9]

This interpretation has nothing to commend it. In the first place, Makaranda is mentioned to have gone for toilet (in order to make his appearance look like a lady) where he wore the bridal apparel (*vaivāhika*), not *colaka*.[10] At another place he is said to have covered himself with the *uttarīya i.e.*, upper garment when he suspected the arrival of Madayantikā.[11] Thus there is absolutely no reference to *colaka* in the contexts. And *uttarīya* which, too, was included in the bridal dress of Mālatī and which actually served to cover the whole body of Makaranda, clearly means an upper garment. Jagaddhara explains *colaka* as *kūrpāsaka*[12] *i.e.*, bodice, and it seems to be a correct interpretation because Mālatī's marital-garments should have included a bodice also. It may be further pointed out that

1. See Moti Chandra, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā*, p. 157.
2. *GV*, 598 and the remark of the commentator.
3. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XXX.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *MM*, VI, p. 125.
6. *Indian Costume*, p. 240.
7. *MM*, VI, p. 138.
8. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 142.
9. *Indian Costume*, p. 240.
10. Kāmandakī says: *vatsa Makaranda, tvamanenaiva vaivāhikena Mālatīnepathyena prasādhitaḥ pariṇāyayātmānam* (*MM*, VI, p. 138).
11. *Taduttarīyāpavāritaḥ prasuptalakṣaṇatiṣṭha* (*MM*, VII, p. 142).
12. *Colaḥ kūrpāsako-striyām ityamaraḥ* (*Ibid.*, VI, p. 126).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mangala Sharma's edition of the *Mālatīmādhava* with the commentaries of Tripurāri and Nānyadeva, omits *colaka*.[1]

The upper garment (*uttarīya*) of the ladies was very much similar to modern dupaṭṭā. From the *Mahāvīracarita* we learn that the upper garment of Sītā which she dropped while being abducted by Rāvaṇa, bore the name of Anusūyā. Vīrarāghava comments that the *uttarīya* being a present from Anusūyā bore her name.[2] In the *Mālatīmādhava*, *uttarīya* is mentioned to have been included in the marital dress of Mālatī.[3] Jagaddhara paraphrases *uttarīya* as *stanavasanam i.e.*, cloth covering the breasts,[4] and his interpretation gets some support from the statement of Madayantikā who says, "He (Makaranda) harasses me by taking hold of (my) upper garment slipping off from the breasts. He laughs at me when I step back letting go the (upper) garment and covering the breasts with my arms."[5] This account seems to indicate that the *uttarīya* sometimes served the purpose of the breast-garment too.

Notwithstanding the numerous references to the breast-garments found in ancient Indian literature,[6] the sculptures and paintings, however, generally displayed women with their uncovered breasts. Vākpati makes mention of the three varieties of the breast-garments which were worn by women of Kanauj. We are told that when Yaśovarman started on conquests, some ladies in their anxiety to see him stood side ways covering their right leg with the left. In this posture, their left breast was exposed.[7] This seems to refer to the open-back variety of the bodice which alone is capable of revealing some region about the breasts in side ways view.[8]

Yaśovarman is stated to have untied the fastening-cord (*jālasutta*) interpreted as "*kañcuka bandhanārtham jālakasūt-*

1. *MM*, VI, p. 149.
2. *Anusūyādattatvādanasūyānāmacinhaṁ*, *MVC*, V, p. 182.
3. *MM*, VI, p. 125.
4. Vide Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 259.
5. *MM*, VII, p. 153.
6. *Śākuntalam*, I, p. 51; *Ratnāvalī*, IV, 17; *Priyadarśikā*, II, vv. 7-8; *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, II, p. 62; *Śiśupāla*, V, 23, VII, 34; *MM*, III, p. 77; *GV*, vv. 202, 731-734, 737; *Ādi P.*, VI, 72.
7. *GV*, 202.
8. See also Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 265.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

raṁ" of the bodices of women on account of which the sides of their breasts were slightly exposed. Vākpati uses the phrase '*jāliyāvalaya*' which has been explained by the commentator as *jālikāvalaya-kañcukasandhibandhaḥ*.[1] These two couplets refer to the open-back long bodice which covered the large part of the abdomen and was fastened by a string. While describing the wives of Yaśovarman's soldiers, Vākpati alludes to slight opening between their two breasts, where they were nearest to each other and where the front fastening bodice is knotted.[2] The third variety is referred to in couplet 734 where women are stated to have puffed out their nostrils on account of hard breathing caused by tight bodices. These bodices on being pulled off over their heads pressed their necks. This bodice seems to have resembled a modern pull-over with no provision for fastening string either on the back or in front.[3] The *Kuvalayamālā* tells us that Lāṭa *i.e.*, southern Gujarat was known for its dresses;[4] but does not mention the garments popular in that region.

Ornaments and Jewellery

A true epoch of the jewellery and ornaments dawned in India with the advent of the Chalcolithic age,[5] and the large variety of ornaments made and used in the Proto-historic period,[6] are still in vogue only with certain modifications in their shapes, designs and materials. They were worn not only to add to the attraction of the wearer, but had also a religious significance; and their absence was considered as inauspicious.[7]

1. *GV*, vv. 731-732.
2. *GV*, 757.
3. See also Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, pp. 265-266.
4. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, pp. 49-50.
5. *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, p. 46.
6. G.C. Rai, *Ornaments and Jewellery in Proto-historic Period*, Chapters II, IV, V-VIII.
7. Vākpati refers to widows of Yaśovarman's enemies who went to perform the *maṅgalas* without the ear-ornaments (*GV*, 185). Māgha also informs us that the ladies of Śiśupāla's enemies had left the use of ornaments when they were put to a state of distress and depression (*Śiśupāla*, XVI, 84). Also see *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 75.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A brief account of ornaments meant for various parts of the body, is given below:

Described as *mañjīra*[1] (anklet) and *nūpura*[2] (an ornament for the toes or ankles), the foot-ornaments produced a pleasant sound when the wearer moved.[3] Jagaddhara[4] and Tripurāri[5] do not distinguish between the two. Girdle (*mekhalā*)[6] consisted of strings,[7] with a net of small bells attached to them[8] which produced pleasant musical sound.[9] Necklaces have been described as *ekāvali*,[10] *kaṇṭhikā*[11] and *hāra*.[12] *Ekāvali* was a simple necklace composed of pearls with a large central *nāyakamaṇi*. It frequently figures in the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods.[13] A survey of sculptures of Rajasthan seems to show the popularity of *ekāvali* in that region. But the sculptural pieces from other regions acquaint us with the necklaces comprising several strings of beads, concentric and in diminishing order.[14] Vākpati refers to necklaces of fairly large size[15] and

1. *MM*, VII, p. 142.
2. *GV*, 829.
3. *MM*, VII, p. 142; *Śiśupāla*, VII, 18; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, pp. 94, 253; *Ādi P.*, VII, 129.
4. *Mañjīro nūpuraḥ*, *MM*, M.R. Kale's edition, I, p. 29.
5. *Mañjīram nūpuram*, *Ibid.*, Mangala Sharma's edition, I, pp. 28-29.
6. *GV*, 775.
7. *Mekhalā-tvaṣṭa-yaṣṭikā*, Jagaddhara on *MM*, I, p. 29.
8. *Śiśupāla*. VII, 5; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 255.
9. *MM*, I, p. 29; *GV*, vv. 767, 1049, 1068; *Jānakī*, III, 16; *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 255.
10. *GV*, 1194 and comments of Haripāla.
11. *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 182.
12. *GV*, 203.
13. *MASI*, No. 73, p. 57.
14. A chauri bearer (in the Rajasthan Museum, Jaipur, No. 200, c. 8th century) and Viṣṇu (Amber Museum, 8th century A.D., not labelled) wear the necklace of two strings. The Gaṅgā and another lady (Mathura Museum, Nos. 1205 and 3458 respectively, c. 8th century A.D.) put on necklaces of three strings.

    Kubera and the Buddhist gods Khasarpaṇa and Lokanātha (State Museum, Lucknow, Nos. G. 56 and G. 219, c. 8th century, respectively) are adorned with the necklaces of four strings.
15. We are told that the folds of the necklace when turned backward, touched the buttocks of the wearer (*GV*, 203).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation/Chandigarh

made of precious stones.[1] Haribhadra makes mention of a necklace worth five lakhs of *dīnāras*.[2]

Four varieties of ear ornaments viz., *kuṇḍala*[3] (round ear-ring), *karṇapūra*[4] (round ear-tops), *karṇikā*[5] (ear-pendant) and *taṭañka*[6] (ear-lob like the wheel-cakra) are mentioned. Vākpati refers to the *kuṇḍalas* of precious jewels.[7] An idea of the size of a *taṭañka* may be had from the fact that it could touch the breasts.[8] As regards *karṇikā*, it was shaped after the seed-vessel of lotus being "exactly like the Jaimikki in Tamil."[9] The popularity of the large sized ear-ornaments is also well attested by the sculptural evidence.[10]

Ladies put on rows of bangles (*valayāvali*).[11] Widows wore white bracelets[12] whose material is not mentioned. Armlets made of conch-shell[13] and precious stones[14] are also referred to; and a contemporary inscription records the grant of a bangle to the Lord Lokapāleśvara.[15] Signet-rings were used both by men and women.[16] Haribhadra makes mention of an ornament named *mṛgāñkalekhā*, white in colour and curved in shape. It adorned the forehead. The top of the hair was bedecked with a

1. *GV*, 197.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, p. 21.
3. *GV*, vv. 206, 833, 1058.
4. *Ibid.*, 768.
5. *Ibid.*, 2.
6. *Ibid.*, 369.
7. *Ibid.*, 1058.
8. *Ibid.*, 206.
9. *MASI*, No. 73, p. 61.
10. The ears of the ladies in the sculptures of the museums of Rajasthan belonging to the 8th century are adorned with *karṇikās* as well as *kuṇḍalas*. The latter in most cases are of a large size. River Gaṅgā in the Mathura Museum, c. 8th century, No. 1205) wears both these ornaments. The Gajalakṣmī and a lady depicted on a caitya window (both in the State Museum, Lucknow, c. 8th century, Nos. 55, 201 and H. 177 respectively) put on large ear-lobs.
11. *MM*, I, p. 29.
12. *GV*, 218.
13. *Ibid.*, 1016.
14. *Ibid.*, 735; *HS*, Vol. I, p. 99.
15. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 165.
16. *GV*, 767; *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 112.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

crestjewel.[1] These ornaments have been generally referred to in connection with women. That men, too, were fond of them is borne out by literary[2] as well as sculptural[3] evidence.

Toilet and Coiffure

Toilet had not only its aesthetic importance but was also regarded as a sign of auspiciousness and prosperity. And, therefore, decoration was forbidden in the state of distress or widowhood.[4] We are told that women applied cosmetics after taking their bath.[5] The use of collyrium (*anjana*[6] or *kajjala*[7]) was very popular. Lips,[8] nail-tips[9] and toes[10] were tinged red with lac. Different types of powders were applied on the body.[11] The use of saffron[12] and sandalpaste[13] also seems to have been popular.

The hair were tastefully arranged, plaited and decorated. Ruffled hair or their arrangement in a single braid was taken to be a sign of widowhood[14] or separation from husband.[15] Women usually wore long hair,[16] folded them into a top-knot, and adorned them with chaplets.[17] There are references to *veṇī*[18] (hair arranged into a single unornamented braid which was

1. *Samarā* (Modi), II, p. 85.
2. *Śiśupāla*, II, 19, III, vv. 6-7; *Ādi P.*, IV, vv. 177-184.
3. See *MASI*, No. 55, pp. 54, 67.
4. *Śiśupāla*, XVI, 84.
5. *GV*, vv. 777-781; *Jānakī*, IX, 57; *Śiśupāla*, IX, 53.
6. *GV*, 164; *Jānakī*, VIII, 41.
7. *GV*, 57.
8. *Ibid.*, 783; *Jānakī*, VIII, 40.
9. *GV*, 641.
10. *Ibid.*, 1047.
11. *Ibid.*, vv. 768, 836, 1125.
12. *Ibid.*, 206; *Jānakī*, VIII, 32.
13. *Śiśupāla*, VIII, 56; *MM*, IX, 22.
14. Vākpati refers to widows with their ruffled hair (*GV*, vv. 1042, 1062).
15. Bhavabhūti presents Sītā with her hair swaying to and fro when she was separated from her husband (*URC*, III, 4). Also see *MVC*, VII, 5; *Jānakī*, IV, 61; *Śākuntalam*, VII, 22.
16. *GV*, vv. 719, 763.
17. *Ibid.*, 777.
18. *Ibid.*, vv. 743, 750.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

allowed to fall on the back),[1] *kuntalakalāpa*[2] (bundle of hair), *kuntalaśikhā*[3] (top-knot), and *keśapāśa*[4] (charming arrangement of the hair in noose fashion[5]) or *kabarī*.[6] Besides, we find mention of hair having a straight line dividing them into two parts.[7] Hair were also decorated and interwoven with buds and flowers.[8]

EDUCATION

Student Life

As has been stated earlier,[9] the first stage of life called *Brahmacarya-āśrama* was devoted to studenthood which commenced after the performance of certain *saṁskāras*. The first educational *saṁskāra* known as *Vidyārambha* is, however, not mentioned in our sources. Bhavabhūti tells us that the education of the princes Kuśa and Lava started after their tonsure ceremony (*Caulakarma*), and that they were taught the three *vidyās* other than the *Vedas*. And after their initiation (*Upanayana saṁskāra*), they were admitted to the study of the *Vedas*.[10] Thus there were two stages of student life, one before the performance of the *Upanayana* and the other after it. The next educational *sāṁskāra* called *Godāna* or *Keśānta* seems to have lost its significance in the age under review and it was reduced to a mere formality.[11] Studenthood terminated with *Samāpavartana* or *Snāna*.[12]

1. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
2. *GV*, 834.
3. *Ibid.*, III.
4. *Ibid.*, 1166.
5. *MASI*, No. 73, p. 31.
6. Ghanaśyāma explains *kabarī* as *keśapāśaḥ* (*URC*, Kane's edition, III, p. 53).
7. *Śiśupāla*, XII, 75. This hair style is noticed in the image of the river Gaṅgā in the Mathura Museum, No. 1205, c. 8th century.
8. *GV*, vv. 661, 834, 1062. According to Bhavabhūti, "the natural place of a sweet flower is settled to be on the head" (*URC*, I, 14, Kane's translation, p. 192).
9. See chapter VI under '*Āśramas*'.
10. *URC*, II, p. 53.
11. Also see chapter VI, under '*Saṁskāras*'.
12. *Kūrma P.*, Uttarārdha, XV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The life of a student was marked for simplicity, austerity, discipline and hard work. He was to prepare his lessons regularly, perform religious rites, beg alms,[1] and offer his services[2] and respects[3] to his teacher. Teaching was suspended on the arrival of an eminent guest, and that the holiday was greatly rejoiced by students.[4]

Teachers

The teachers usually had a thorough knowledge of their subject and were also noted for their character and conduct.[5] Bhavabhūti makes mention of two great teachers namely Vālmīki and Agastya, adding that the sages waited upon the latter for the study of the Vedānta.[6] We are further informed that Vālmīki once went to the river Tamasā for the observance of his mid-day bath. There he saw a heron being shot by a hunter. Beholding this spectacle, he is mentioned to have uttered a divine speech in a well regulated form in *Anuṣṭubha* metre. Thereafter, he composed the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is described as the first manifestation of the *śabda-Brahma i.e.*, Brahma in the garb of words.[7] As regards Agastya, he was a far famed teacher of the Vedānta philosophy.[8] The Nālandā stone inscription also refers to teachers of profound erudition and great fame.[9]

1. *Ibid.*, XV, vv. 1-2.
2. Bhavabhūti records that Kuśa and a few other students were sent by Vālmīki with a *MS.* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be handed over to Bharata (*URC*, IV, p. 120).
3. *Śiśupāla*, XIII, 24.
4. From the *Uttararāmacarita* we learn that the teaching was suspended in the hermitage of Vālmīki on the arrival of the illustrious sage Vaśiṣṭha. This provided the students an opportunity to indulge in sports and rejoicings (*anādhyāya mahotsavaṁ khelanto mānayāyaḥ*, *URC*, IV, p. 104). *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* (I, vv. 144-151) also includes the arrival of an illustrious guest on the occasions when holidays were given to students. Also see *URC*, Kane's edition, notes, p. 120.
5. *MVC*, IV, 16, VII, 27.
6. *URC*, II, p. 52.
7. *URC*, II, pp. 54-55.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 3.
9. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The teacher was entrusted with onerous duties and responsibilities towards his students. He loved them like his own children.[1] And therefore, besides teaching them the courses of their study, he was also to correct a student if he behaved irresponsibly on account of his imperfect or doubtful learning.[2] The teacher did not allow his students to deviate from their prescribed path.[3] According to Asahāya, the teacher was independent of his students.[4] Teachers were also supposed to be tolerant[5] and impartial. This is evidenced by the statement of Ātreyī: "The teacher imparts knowledge to the intelligent and dullard alike, but he does not give them the talent for learning. Nor does he take it away. Hence there is a great difference between their (intelligent and dull students') results."[6]

Subjects of Study

Bhavabhūti makes mention of a few subjects in connection with the education of the princes Kuśa and Lava. He tells us that after their tonsure ceremony, they were taught the three *vidyās* other than the *Vedas*. Ghanaśyāma includes in these *vidyās* learning of alphabet (*akṣarābhyāsa*), military exercises (*khuralīvihāra*) and training in the use of arms, weapons and vehicles (*vāhanāyuddhaśikṣā*).[7] And after their initiation ceremony which took place at the age of eleven, Kuśa and Lava learnt the *Vedas*.[8] Besides these subjects, they also studied some portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the treatises on horses and warfare. Their knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is borne out by the following conversation between Janaka and Lava recorded in the *Uttararāmacarita*:

1. *MVC*, II, 28.
2. *Ibid.*, III, 35.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 163.
4. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 50, on verse 32.
5. *MVC*, III, 20.
6. *Vitarati guruḥ prājñe vidyām yathaiva tathājaḍe*
   Natu . . . . . tayorjñāne śaktim karotyapahanti vā
   Bhavati hi punarbhūyānbhedaḥ phalaṁ pratitadyathā (*URC*, II, 4)
7. *URC*, Kane's edition, II, p. 35. For other interpretations see chapter V, under 'Education of the King'.
8. *Ibid.*, Nirṇaya Sagar Press Ed., II, p. 53.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Janaka : "Do you know Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the sons of Daśaratha?"

Lava : "They are the heroes of the poem called *Rāmāyaṇa*."

Janaka : "Candraketu is the son of that Lakṣmaṇa."

Lava : "The son of Urmilā and the maternal grandson of the royal sage of Mithilā."

Janaka : "What are the names of the children of these sons of Daśaratha and from what wives they were severally born?"

Lava : "This part of the poem has not been heard before by me or by any one else."

Janaka : "Has it not been composed by the bard?"

Lava : "Composed but not published. However, a certain portion of it has been arranged in a different form full of sentiments and rendered fit for dramatic representation. After writing it with his own hand, the revered sage (Vālmīki) has sent it to sage Bharata, the author of the aphoristic work on dramaturgy."

Janaka : "With what object?"

Lava : "The revered sage will have it acted by the Apsaras."[1]

That Lava had also learnt the treatises on horses and warfare, is evidenced by the following account of the *Uttararāmacarita*. It records that when the students of the hermitage of Vālmīki saw the horse of *Aśvamedha* let loose by Rāma, they went to Lava and informed him of it. Lava said, "They speak of the horse in treatises on animals (*paśunāmne*) and warfare (*saṅgrāmike*). Tell me how it looks."[2]

Fellow students: "He carries a flowing tail behind, possesses a long neck and four hooves. He eats grass and sheds lumps of the size of a mango."[3]

Lava : "Surely this is a sacrificial horse."

1. *URC*, IV, pp. 119-190.
2. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 122.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, 26.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fellow students: "How do you know?"

Lava : "You fools, you must have read the section devoted to it. To each such horse not less than one hundred guards armed with corslets, staves, and quivers accompany to guard it."[1]

This account is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and, therefore, is seems to refer to the subjects taught to the princes in the time of Bhavabhūti. And it is significant to note that only Lava had studied about the horse of the *Aśvamedha*; his fellow students who were not princes, had only heard about him (horse of *Aśvamedha*).

Haribhadra gives a long list of subjects in connection with princely education. It includes *lekha* (writing), *gaṇita* (mathematics), *ālekha* (painting), *kāvya* (poetry), *gāthā* (a religious verse, but not belonging to any one of the three *Vedas*), *āryā* (a metre in which the first and third quarters must each contain 12 mātrās, the second 18 and the fourth 15), *aṣṭapāda* (a metre having 8 legs), *gīti* (a metre in which the first and third quarters must contain 12 syllabi instants each, and the second and the fourth 18 each), *śloka* (stanza), *prahelikā* (riddle), *nāṭya* (drama), *gīta* (music), *svaragata* (vocal music), *vādita* (instrumental music), *vāstumāna* (measurement of a site for the construction of a building), *nagaramāna* (measurement of a city), *skandhāvāramāna* (measurement of the camp), *nagaraniveśa* (entrance into a city), *vāstuniveśa* (entrance into a house), *hiraṇyavāda*, *suvarṇavāda*, *maṇivāda*, *dhātuvāda* (treatises dealing with the details regarding silver, gold, jewels and metals, respectively), *annavidhi*, *pānavidhi*, *śayanavidhi*, *ābharaṇavidhi* (rules relating to methods of eating, drinking, sleeping and use of ornaments respectively), *sūtrakrīḍā* (game with strings, one of the 64 kalās), *vartakrīḍā* (sports of a bird ?), *vāhyakrīḍā* (sports of the beasts of burden like horse etc.), *nālikākrīḍā* (game of buffalo), *taruṇīpratikarma* (rules relating to the behaviour with a young lady), *strīlakṣaṇa*, *puruṣalakṣaṇa*, *gajalakṣaṇa*, *golakṣaṇa*, *kukkuṭalakṣaṇa*, *meṣalakṣaṇa*, *chatralakṣaṇa*, *daṇḍalakṣaṇa*, *asilakṣaṇa* and *maṇilak-*

1. *URC*, IV, p. 124.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ṣaṇa (characteristics of ladies, men, elephants, cows, cocks, ram, parasol, staff, sword and jewels respectively), *dyūta* (gambling), *janavāda* (rumour or scandal), *gandhayukti* (preparation of perfumes), *tattvapravāda* (exposition of truth or reality), *patrachedya* and *kaṭakachedya* (the cutting of leaves and bracelet, respectively), *rahasyāgatam* (mystic doctrine or esoteric teaching), *horā* (horoscopy), *candracarita*, *sūryacarita*, *Rāhucarita*, *grahacarita* (treatises dealing with the moon, sun, Rāhu and other planets), *cara* (spy), *praticara* (counter spy), *vyūha* (a military array), *prativyūha* (counter military array), *dhanurveda* (archery), *aśvaśikṣā*, *hastiśikṣā* (training in horses and elephants respectively), *vāhuyuddha* (a hand to hand or close fight), *daṇḍayuddha* (fight with a rod or stick), *muṣṭiyuddha* (boxing), *niyuddha* (fighting on foot or personal fighting), *asthiyuddha* (fighting with weapons of bones such as thunderbolt etc.).[1] Besides these, the list also includes certain other names such as *sūtrākāra*, *dūtākāra*, *vidyāgatam*, *sajīva*, *nirjīva* and *śakunarata* etc. the meanings of which are not clear.

In the *Kuvalayamālā*, we are told that prince Kuvalayacandra was entrusted to a *lekhācārya* at the age of eight, and that he mastered seventytwo arts (*kalās*) in four years *i.e.*, upto the age of twelve. Kuvalayacandra is stated to have specialised in the science of horses and in horse riding.[2] There is not much difference in the lists of subjects recorded in the *Samarāiccakahā* and in the *Kuvalayamālā*.

The vide range and vast variety of these subjects covering polity, military sciences, astronomy, astrology, poetry, poetics, psychology, fine arts, vocational arts and crafts, games and sports etc., demonstrate a highly developed state of different branches of learning, sacred, secular, theoretical and practical in the age under review.

Bhavabhūti makes mention of a letter written on a palm leaf with the juice of Tamāla tree;[3] and Asahāya enumerates leaf, birch-bark, strip of rind and board on which a document

1. These meanings are given in the *Amarakośa*, *Vācaspatyam* and the *Sanskrit-English Dictionaries* by Monier-Williams and Apte.
2. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, pp. 25-26.
3. *MVC*, II, p. 48. The bark of the Tamāla tree is very dark, hence its juice could well serve the purpose of black ink.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

could be written.[1] According to Burnell, board referred to here must have been black wooden boards.[2] In the *Kuvalayamālā*, we find a reference to a costly *MS*. written on a palm-leaf in *Brāhmī* characters.[3]

Educational Institutions and Centres of Advanced Learning

Like earlier periods,[4] the Buddhist monasteries and small institutions privately run by the teachers continued to be the centres of education and learning. The latter (private institutions) were scattered in large number in the different parts of the country and they were the mainstay of educational system. Bhavabhūti refers to two such institutions, one run by Vālmīki in his hermitage and the other by Agastya in the Daṇḍaka forest. He gives a graphic picture of the Vālmīki *āśrama*[5] referring to the names of five students *viz*. Kuśa, Lava, Ātreyī,[6] Saudhātakī and Dāṇḍāyana.[7] Agastya was a reputed teacher of the Vedānta and he attracted students from the distant corners of the country.[8]

Among other centres of learning, Padmāvatī was famous for the study of *ānvīkṣikī*, where Kāmandakī, Saudāminī, Devarāta, Bhūrivasu and Mādhava had received their education.[9] Kanauj, too, became a great centre of the Brahmanical learning during the reign of Yaśovarman whose court was graced by the illustrious scholars Bhavabhūti, Vākpati and Atrigupta etc. And the University of Nālandā continued to be a celebrated centre

1. *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 7, on verse 11, and p. 27, on verse 18.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
3. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 72.
4. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Buddhist monasteries besides being the residence of the monks, also began to function as centres of public education. As regards individual teachers, they taught their students either in their own houses or in the vicinity (see Altekar, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, p. 56).
5. *URC*, IV, 1.
6. *URC*, II, pp. 52-53.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 103.
8. Ātreyī had gone from the hermitage of Vālmikī to the Daṇḍaka forest to study the Vedic texts from Agastya (*Ibid.*, II, 3).
9. *MM*, I, p. 8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of education and learning during the reign of Yaśovarman.[1] Kauśāmbī was a noted centre of the Jaina learning where a learned Jaina preceptor Dharmānandana taught different *Aṅgas*, logic, and other subjects to his disciples.[2]

1. According to Sankalia, "Yaśovarman must have, in all probability, built a *saṅghārāma* or a *vihāra* at Nālandā (*University of Nālandā*, p. 64). For details see chapter III, part IV, under 'Yaśovarman as a patron of letters'.
2. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, p. 27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

7

Religious Life

Yaśovarman's reign "synchronised with and marked the final ascendancy of revived Hinduism."[1] The writers of his court made commendable contributions for its promotion and efflorescence. Bhavabhūti has not only glorified the Vedic religion and rituals, but also given a very interesting account of the process through which Buddhism was merging into the Brahmanical religion. Vākpati eulogises a large number of the Brahmanical deities with special reference to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti. Atrigupta was a famous Śaiva philosopher, but his contribution to Śaivism is not much known.

A perusal of the literary and archaeological evidences bears out the predominance of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śakti cult. An idea of the enviable position enjoyed by the Brahmanical religion may also be had from the accounts of the Jaina works which are manifested with their prejudice against its popularity. Thus Haribhadra and Udyotana Sūri have censured it in no uncertain terms.[2] The latter has also tried to belittle Buddhism.[3] Despite such references to religious rivalry, the age under review was on the whole marked out for eclecticism and syncretic spirit.[4] Besides, Tāntric practices were gaining popu-

1. *HMHI*, Vol. I, p. 338.
2. *Dhūrtākhyāna*, V, vv. 119-121; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Intoduction, pp. 58-60. Also see Jinasena's *Ādi Purāṇa*, XLI, vv. 47-52.
3. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part II, Introduction, pp. 56-57.
4. Yaśovarman was a great patron of the Brahmanical religion, but his minister Po-ta-hsin (Buddhasena) or Seng-po-ta (Saṅghabhadra) sent to the Chinese court, was a Buddhist (Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71; *CA*, p. 130, note 2; *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 167). Similarly, Lalitāditya patronised the Brahmanical religion as well as

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

larity and religious rites such as pilgrimage, performance of sacrifices, gifts to the deserving Brāhmaṇas, *Yātrā* festivals and water worship retained their importance.

Vaiṣṇavism

Viṣṇu who occupied a subordinate position in the age of the *Ṛgveda*,[1] emerged into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era;[2] and his cult made unprecedented progress in the Gupta and later periods.[3] In the period under review, the worship of the incarnations of Viṣṇu was very popular. The number and names of his incarnations "varied helplessly before 800 A.D.,"[4] and gradually "came to be stereotyped as ten"[5] *viz.* Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma (Dāśarathī), Buddha and Kalkin,[6] by the 8th century.[7]

Vākpati describes with mythological details the Man-Lion,[8]

Buddhism (see *RT*, IV, vv, 182-216; S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp. 198-200, for details regarding the Brahmanical and Buddhist monuments built during his reign). And the sculptures of the Buddhist temple at Pahārpur included the images of the Brahmanical deities as well (*MASI*, No. 55, pp. 37-38).

1. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 1. Some scholars, however, hold that Viṣṇu was a great god even in the Vedic times (H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 14).
2. *DHI*, p. 385.
3. See Suvira Jayaswal, *Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 180, 286; J.N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, pp. 18-20; S.C. Mukherji, *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal*, pp. 18 ff.
4. R.C. Hazra, *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 88.
5. *DHI*, p. 390.
6. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 285, vv. 6-7.
7. Hazra, *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 88.
8. "Victory to the Lord (Narasimha) who killed the demon (Hiraṇyakaśipu) by the very touch of his fingers, without making use of his arms" (*GV*, 8).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Serpent-Boar,[1] Boar,[2] Dwarf,[3] Tortoise,[4] Mohinī,[5] Kṛṣṇa,[6] Balabhadra[7] and Madhumatha[8] incarnations of Viṣṇu. Here we find only six names from the stereotyped list. Māgha mentions seven[9] out of ten *avatāras*. Among these, Boar, Man-Lion and Dwarf seem to have been more popular.[10] Bhavabhūti recom-

1. *GV*, 51.
2. 'The earth thrown up by the (vital) breathings of the Boar, as if serves as an umbrella against the heat of the sun' (*Ibid.*, vv. 14-15).
3. 'The Lord in this descent had contracted his body which thus being uneven, appeared to have accommodated all the three worlds' (*Ibid.*, 16).
4. 'Victory to the Lord Mahā-Kūrma whose mouth and legs have become projected on account of bearing the immense weight of the earth' (*Ibid.*, 17).
5. 'May the Lord (Viṣṇu) who in the form of Mohinī, slayed the demon Madhu, protect us' (*Ibid.*, 18).
6. 'Vākpati mentions three stages of the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa: In his childhood, his (Kṛṣṇa's) foster-mother Yaśodā bestowed love and affection on him; in his youth Kṛṣṇa indulged in romance with Rādhā who left her nail marks on his breast which was adorned with Kaustubha-jewel and *vanamālā*. At a later stage, he killed the demon Rāhu' (*Ibid.*, vv. 20-23).
7. Vākpati compares the blue upper garment of Balabhadra (which fell on his feet after slipping off from his body, while he was drunk) to river Yamunā lying in that posture on account of being afraid of his thundering sound. It is followed by a combined invocation to Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who in the forms of Śeṣa and Kūrma respectively, concealed their grief caused by the immense weight of the earth which they bore (*GV*, vv. 24-26).
8. 'Victory to the marks of powder painted on the chest of the Lord Madhumatha at the time when he embraced his consort' (*Ibid.*, 28).
9. These are Dwarf, Man-Lion, Boar, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha (*Śiśupāla*, XIV, vv. 71-77, 80-86, XV, 58).
10. It is mentioned in the *Uttararāmacarita* (*URC*, V, p. 136) and in the Mathura inscription (*EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 211). Lalitāditya had set up a gold image of Mahāvarāha (*RT*, IV, 197). Man-Lion incarnation frequently figures on the temples at Osia (Hari-Hara Group). Dwarf incarnation which is also mentioned by Haribhadra (*Dhūrtākhyāna*, III, p. 7), Māgha (*Śiśupāla*, XIV, vv. 74-77) and Kumāradāsa (*Jānakī*, II, 12) occurs in the sculptures of Hari-Hara temple No. I, at Osia, where Lord Trivikrama is represented with his 'right leg pressing the earth and the left one thrust into the mouth of the demon Rāhu, and engulfing the mid-world between the earth and the heaven.'

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mends the worship of Ādi Varāha for defeating the enemies.[1] As regards Rāma, several plays and epics written in or about 8th century were based on his history.[2] Thus Bhavabhūti has adumbrated Rāma's glory in his two plays viz. the *Mahāvīracarita* and *Uttararāmacarita*. He calls Rāma an incarnation of Trivikrama,[3] adding that he was born for the destruction of the demoniac forces and for the welfare of the world.[4] He (Rāma) is described as Purāṇapuruṣa, kernel of seers and the embodiment of the three qualities viz. *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.[5] Bhavabhūti adds that Rāma's noble deeds are sung both by the gods and demons;[6] he is free from the cycle of birth and death;[7] those who remember and count his name attain immortality.[8] Yaśovarman wrote *Rāmābhyudaya* obviously in the praise of Lord Rāma. The theme of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was also based on the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Besides, Lalitāditya is stated to have set up an image of Rāmasvāmin beside the temple of the Lord Parihāsakeśava.[9] The terracottas from Pahārpur, too, testify to the popularity of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[10]

Kṛṣṇa was probably originally the leader of the warrior and pastoral tribe of the non-Brahmanic race. Later on he was "transformed into an incarnation of Viṣṇu" by the Brāhmaṇas.[11] The outer walls of the three temples of the Hari-Hara group at

1. According to Ghanaśyāma, it was in this incarnation that Viṣṇu tried to avert the crisis of the world, by bringing the earth up from the bottom of the ocean where it had been carried away by the demon Hiraṇyākṣa. Kane holds that most of the ancient works describing the incarnations of Viṣṇu, begin with their invocations to the Varāha incarnation (*URC*, Kane's edition, notes, p. 155).
2. Also see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, p. 381.
3. *URC*, V, 34.
4. *MVC*, I, vv. 6, 8, 13 and the comments of Vīrarāghava on these verses.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, 2.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 6.
7. *Ibid.*, VII, 25.
8. *Ibid.*, VII, 15.
9. *RT*, IV, 275.
10. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 60. The representation of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Rāma's crossing the Gaṅgā to Bharata's meeting him at Chitrakuta has also been found on the wall of an old temple at Aphsaḍ, assigned to c. 7th century (*JBRS*, Vol. LIV, parts I-IV, pp. 216-218).
11. *MASI*, No. 5, p. 165.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Osia contain a running frieze depicting the story of Śakaṭa-līlā, the birth of Kṛṣṇa, his flight to Vṛndāvana, and destruction of Pūtanā etc.[1] A large number of stone sculptures from Pahārpur "would indicate that a great centre of Kṛṣṇa worship was located at Pahārpur."[2] Buddha began to be popularly regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about the 7th century A.D.,[3] and one of his early representations in art as Viṣṇu's incarnation is found on the Hari-Hara temple No. I at Osia.

Śaivism

In the period under discussion, the cult of Śiva was as much popular and prominent[4] as that of Viṣṇu. Vākpati has devoted fourteen couplets to the praise of Lord Śiva, explaining his various epithets viz. Kāmāntaka,[5] Chandraśekhara,[6] Kirāta,[7]

1. See also *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 56.
2. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 37.
3. *HDS*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 721.
4. The popularity of the cult of Śiva is borne out by a large number of images, *liṅgas* and shrines of the Lord, found in the different parts of northern India. Thus a shrine of Śiva Cakrasvāmī was built during the reign of Lalitāditya (*RT*, IV, 276). Prince Śiva constructed a Śiva temple at Kaṇvāśrama at Kotah in Rajasthan (*IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 55). The temple of Ekaliṅgam at Nagda is associated with Bappā Rāwal (J.N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, pp. 108-109). Vākpati refers to *liṅga* worship (*GV*, vv. 361, 609). And State museums of Rajasthan have a large number of Śiva-*liṅgas* belonging to c. 8th century. The Pratihāra ruler Jayabhaṭa III was a devout Śaiva (*CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 80).
5. 'Victory to the Lord but for whose fear Kāma does not venture to shoot his arrows on Kumāra' (*GV*, 42).
6. 'Victory to the Lord who is always illuminated by the lustre of the moon fastened to his locks. Being unable to bear the pangs of separation from her spouse Kāma, when the moon wanted to sacrifice her life in the fire of the third eye of the Lord, the latter (Śiva) tied her to his locks' (*Ibid.*, 30).
7. *Ibid.*, 35.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ardhanārīśvara,[1] Nīlakaṇṭha,[2] Pinākin[3] and Trinetra,[4] with mythological details.

Bhavabhūti invokes Śiva as Gaṅgādhara, Candraśekhara, Kapālin,[5] Maheśvara,[6] Paśupati,[7] Nīlalohita,[8] Tryambaka and Ācārya.[9] Glorifying the sacred shrine of Suvarṇabindu, the Lord of Bhavānī, which stood on the confluence of the rivers Madhumatī and Sindhu, Bhavabhūti addresses him as Ādiguru, Bhuvanabhāvana, Nigamanidhi and Madanāntaka.[10] Śiva is also described as the wielder of trident and spear, destroyer of the demon Tripura, essence of the three *Vedas*,[11] Aṣṭamūrti,[12] the Lord of the fourteen worlds and the cause of existence, creation and destruction[13] (of the creation). V.S. Agrawala[14] has discussed the meanings and significance of these terms.

1. The crescent moon (fastened to Śiva's locks) is stated to have assumed this (half) form in order to worship the Ardhanārīśvara, a form which combines half of Śiva's body and the half that of Umā (*Ibid.*, 39).
2. *Ibid.*, 36.
3. 'Salutations to the locks of the Lord (Śiva) which tied the serpent Vāsuki when the churning of the ocean was over' (*Ibid.*, 34).
4. Vākpati narrates the following interesting story to explain this epithet: 'In order to test Viṣṇu's faith, Śiva pulled out his third eye. When Viṣṇu saw his (Śiva's) forehead without it, he offered his own eye in the form of leaves etc. which he (Śiva) now bears' (*Ibid.*, 37 and the remark of the commentator). Vākpati also pays his respects to the third eye of the Lord Pinākin, whose fire could burn the entire creation (*Ibid.*, 41). For the story of the coming into existence of Śiva's third eye, see Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 49.
5. "May the matted locks of Śiva, from which trickle the waters of the Mandākinī on being beset with the skulls (serving the purpose of) the crest-chaplet, the splendour of which is mixed up with the flames of fire from the eye on the forehead, the crescent moon whereof is confused with the point of Ketaka (and) the mass of which is tied up with the circular garlands in the form of serpents, protect you" (*MM*, I, 1).
6. *MVC*, I, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 220.
8. Vīrarāghava explains it as Ardhanārīśvara (*Ibid.*, II, p. 68).
9. *Ibid.*, I, 27, III, p. 89 and the comments of Vīrarāghava.
10. *MM*, IX, pp. 177-178 and verse 4.
11. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 180.
12. *MVC*, VII, 9.
13. Kavi plates, *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 182-183.
14. *Śiva Mahādeva*, pp. 13 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Kāpālika Sect

"The Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas and similar other Śaiva sects of a *ghora* type were developed at a fairly early date from the Pāśupata sect as organised by Lakulīśa . . ."[1] The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*,[2] but they emerged into prominence in the post-Gupta period.[3] Bhavabhūti throws some light on their religious practices through the activity of Kāpālika Aghoraghaṇṭa and his disciples Kapālakuṇḍalā and Saudāminī. They are stated to have acquired proficiency in the Tāntric practices at Śrīparvata.[4]

Kapālakuṇḍalā has been presented with her matted hair tied in a knot, wearing a garland of human skulls and bearing probably an infernal weapon.[5] She and her preceptor Aghoraghaṇṭa were devout votaries of Kālī to whom they used to offer human beings. Kapālakuṇḍalā was ordered by Aghoraghaṇṭa to bring the most beautiful woman for an offering already promised to Karālā, at his successful conclusion of incantations for securing *siddhis*.[6] And she had kidnapped Mālatī for the purpose.[7] But Mālatī's paramour Mādhava killed Aghoraghaṇṭa before he could sacrifice her to the goddess.[8] Haribhadra tells us that a Kāpālika monk had given a powerful snake-charm to Dhana, on the recitation of which a prince bit by snake, was restored to life.[9]

Thus the religious practices of the Kāpālikas were most fiendish and outlandish. Mālatī compared the cruelty of her

1. *DHI*, pp. 451-452.
2. V.S. Pathak, *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 19.
3. *DHI*, p. 452, note 1; A.P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, pp. 239-241.
4. *MM*, V, p. 97. Śrīparvata was a traditional centre of esoteric cult. Bāṇa refers to an old man from the Draviḍa country who was attracted to Śrīparvata by its reputation for the magic cult (see R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 104). Nānyadeva comments: *Śrīparvatasyāneka mantrasādhanakṣetratvena*, *MM*, Mangala Sharma's edition, IX, p. 203.
5. *MM*, V, vv. 3-4.
6. *Ibid.*, V, p. 97.
7. *Ibid.*, V, vv. 24-25, pp. 111-112.
8. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 119.
9. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IV, pp. 210, 219.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

father with the nature of a Kāpālika.[1] They were very much influenced by Tāntricism and the *siddhis* attained by them enabled them to perform miraculous acts. However, the Kāpālika sect was very influential in the age under review, and it caused great damage to Buddhism. But Bhavabhūti seems to have showed his disfavour towards it, for Aghoraghaṇṭa is mentioned to have been killed by Mādhava.

Śakti Cult

The practice of offering respects to female deities goes back to the period of the Indus civilization,[2] but the concept of a central goddess (Devī) as Śakti and the compilation of the *Purāṇas* dealing with her praise, nature and exploits developed at a fairly late date.[3] A perusal of both literary and archaeological evidences amply bears out the great influence and popularity of the Śakti cult in the age under survey.

Bhavabhūti like Vākpati takes special cognizance of the Śakti cult. From the *Mālatīmādhava* we learn that the temple of Cāmuṇḍā called Karālā, was situated in the cemetery area on the outskirts of the city of Padmāvatī.[4] In its vicinity the noises of the frantic sports of ghosts[5] and the pitious shrieks (of the human beings sacrificed to her) were heard. Karālā's shrine is mentioned to have been the byword for such untoward occurrences.[6] Mādhava went there in search of Mālatī and sold human-flesh in order to attain the object of his desire *viz.*

1. *MM*, IV, p. 91. Tripurāri adds that a Kāpālika is devoid of the sense of mercy and that he kills others' women and children in a cruel manner (*Kāpālika evaparam-strībālādivadhe niṣkaruṇaḥ*, *Ibid.*, Mangala Sharma's edition, IV, pp. 105-106).
2. J. Marshall, *Mohenjodāro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 55-58; *DHI*, p. 489.
3. R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas*, Vol. II, p. 1.
4. *MM*, V, p. 97.
5. *Ibid.*, V, vv. 14-17.
6. *MM*, V, 21. Tripurāri comments that Cāmuṇḍā was very much fond of human-beings and animals which were offered to her (*vividhānām manuṣya-paśu-prabhṛtīnām jīvānāmupahārapriyā*, *Ibid.*, Mangala Sharma's edition, I, p. 17). Therefore, her temple was a famous place for the slaughter of various creatures and other heinous activity (*jīvopahārādīnām aniṣṭānām sthānaṁ*, *Ibid.*, V, p. 125).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mālatī.[1] He saved her from being sacrificed to the goddess, as has been referred to above in connection with the Kāpālika sect.

In the *Gauḍavaho* we are told that Yaśovarman during his halt in the Vindhyan region, was conducted by a Śabara to the temple of the Vindhyavāsinīdevī[2] and that he invoked the goddess with a long prayer. It is through this invocation that Vākpati has given a graphic account of the grim rituals associated with her worship, and also of the appalling atmosphere in and outside her shrine. Its relevant extracts are as follows:

The temple was decorated with red banners.[3] Its gateyard was bedaubed with blood,[4] and courtyard perfumed with the offerings of flowers and incense.[5] The inner part of the shrine was darkened by the black shining swords, knives and bows offered to her by warriors. Therefore, owls freely moved in it even during the day time.[6] And jackals used to visit the temple in search of flesh.[7] An image of Kālī wearing a garland of skulls and killing the demon Mahiṣa with her trident was installed in the shrine which was lighted by a row of dimly burning lamps.[8] Vākpati refers to daily sacrifices of human beings made to the goddess when he says that the lean and thin attendant of Revatī had as if lost his flesh on account of the ghastly sight of a human corpse always lying before her.[9] He has also mentioned the practice of slaying a hero and selling his flesh near Kālī's temple in order to attain some difficult object of seller's desire.[10] And the Koli women used to go to worship her and to see the offerings of human beings made to her.[11]

1. *Vīrahastānmānsaṁ gṛhītvā vīrāyābhimatavaradānamitiśmaśānasiddhiyoginīmatam*, Jagaddhara on *MM*, IV, p. 92.
2. *GV*, 338. This temple still stands in the town of Vindhyachala in Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh.
3. *Ibid.*, 285.
4. *Ibid.*, 287.
5. *Ibid.*, 310.
6. *Ibid.*, 306.
7. *Ibid.*, 318.
8. *Ibid.*, vv. 291, 301, 305-306.
9. *Ibid.*, 339.
10. *Ibid.*, 327.
11. *Ibid.*, 319.

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In the *Samarāiccakahā*, too, we find many of these details and a few new ones. We are told that the temple of Caṇḍīkā was situated in the forest of Kādambarī. On the branches of the trees standing in its vicinity were hung the mouths, tails, horns and necks of buffaloes and sheep, besides a number of clothes. These trees also bore the blood marks made with triśūla. The ramparts of the shrine had become extensive and high by the heaps of human skeletons, and its arch-pendants were made of standing skeletons. The open places of the temple were full of prisoners tied with fetters (to be sacrificed to her). And it was surrounded by the Śabara youths having sharp swords in their hands. The inner shrine chamber was covered with hide, and it contained lamps lighted in skulls filled with human tallow. It had *svastika* marks made of rice and blood of the Śabarī women.[1]

Kātyāyanī was shown with her hands holding a bow, a sword, a gong and a tail of the demon Mahiṣāsura. A village head named Kālasena is stated to have gone to the temple of Caṇḍikā to sacrifice a person named Durgilaka so that he might escape the miseries in the next world.[2]

From the above accounts it may be gathered that the shrine of Śakti was generally situated at some secluded place. The atmosphere of its precincts was awe inspiring. The sale of human flesh in the proximity to the temple and the offerings of animals and human beings to the goddess were common practices.[3] The priests of her temple were proficient in Tāntricism. And not to say of commoners, even the kings were devoted to this bloodthirsty deity who was more popularly worshipped by the Kirātas, Śabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and others.[4]

Śakti was worshipped both in her benign[5] and terrific forms.[6]

1. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 43-46.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), VI, pp. 46-47.
3. Also see *KESA*, pp. 225 ff; *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 13.
4. *Studies in the Upa Purāṇas*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17.
5. *GV*, 290.
6. She is described as Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairavī, Caṇḍī, Gaurī, Revatī (*GV*, vv. 45, 46, 287, 289, 308, 329 respectively), Katyāyanī (*Samarā*, Modi, VI, p. 46) and Karālā (*MM*, V, p. 97).

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The latter aspect particularly the worship of Mahiṣāsuramardinī was more popular[1] probably because of two reasons. First, the age under review witnessed the revival of imperial traditions, and secondly, the Arabs were invading the different parts of the country. The kings, therefore, solicited the malevolent form of the goddess to get inspiration and blessings for their success in warfare.

The Sun God

The sun god who occupied a prominent position in the Vedic pantheon, retained his importance in the later ages[2] as well. Vākpati pays tributes to the sun god whose immense light protects the universe and also burns it at the time of destruction.[3] Bhavabhūti invokes him thus: 'You whose form is the universe, are the abode of auspicious splendours; bestow welfare upon me; destroy whatever sin (there be) and grant every kind of blessing for the highest welfare.'[4] He also describes him as the family-deity of the Ikṣvākus,[5] and the substance of the three *Vedas*.[6] The popularity of the solar cult is also borne out by the fact that all the three plays of Bhavabhūti were enacted on the occasions of the *Yātrā* festivals held in honour of the sun god called Kālapriyanātha[7] whose shrine was situated at Kālpī in the Jalaon District of Uttar Pradesh.[8] The Deo-Barṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II records the continuance of the grant of a village to the sun god called Varuṇasvāmin;[9] and Lalitāditya built a marvellous temple of the Lord Mārtaṇḍa,[10] the remains of which point to its pristine grandeur.[11]

1. A large number of the stone images of the Mahiṣāsuramardini assigned to c. 8th century A.D., are preserved in the Amber Museum.
2. *DHI*, pp. 428 ff.
3. *GV*, 50.
4. *MM*, I, 3.
5. *MVC*, IV, 14; *URC*, IV, 5.
6. *MVC*, VII, 21.
7. *MVC*, I, p. 6; *MM*, I, p. 5; *URC*, I, p. 9.
8. For details see S.M. Mishra, 'New Light on the identification of Kālapriyanātha', *Purāṇa*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 171-177.
9. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 218.
10. *RT*, IV, 192.
11. For details see S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 199.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa emerged into prominence in the Gupta and later periods.[1] Vākpati invokes the elephant headed Gaṇeśa with his colossal tusk. He has also mentioned the legend relating to his defeat at the hands of Kumāra.[2]

Brahmā

Though reckoned as the first member of the Hindu Triad and regarded as the creator of the world, Brahmā, however, never became popular like Viṣṇu and Śiva.[3] In the *Gauḍavaho* we are told that Brahmā remains busy in shaping the world, and that his rosary is formed of the chain of its creation and destruction.[4] He is also mentioned as Padmayoni,[5] and Hiraṇyagarbha; the sages Bhṛgu, Vaśiṣṭha and Aṅgiras were born of him.[6]

Brahmā figures as one of the most important *parivāradevatās* on the shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu, but the temples exclusively dedicated to him were few and far between. Amber Museum contains a few images of Brahmā, assigned to c. 8th century A.D. A stone sculpture from Pahārpur bears the figure of Brahmā holding *akṣamālā* in his right hand and manuscript in the left.[7]

There are references to Agni,[8] Indra,[9] Candra,[10] Kāmadeva,[11]

1. *CA*, p. 449. Also see *MASI*, No. 55, p. 39.
2. *GV*, vv. 52-54.
3. *DHI*, p. 512.
4. *GV*, vv. 1, 2, 4.
5. *MVC*, II, 2.
6. *MVC*, III, 7.
7. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 54.
8. Bhavabhūti describes Agni as the presiding deity of the divine missiles (*URC*, VI, p. 142). Agni figures in the sculptures of Hari-Hara temple No. I, at Osia.
9. Indra is mentioned as 'Maghavan' *i.e.*, bountiful (*MVC*, I, vv. 34, 45), *Ahilyājāra* (*Ibid.*, I, p. 20) and the destroyer of the demons Vṛtta and Jambha (*Ibid.*, IV, 18).
10. *GV*, 48.
11. *Samarā* (Jacobi), VI, p. 442. Bhavabhūti invokes him thus: 'This is that mind-born one *i.e.*, Kāmadeva of well-known power overcome by the qualities of *rajas* and *tamas*. He is the creator of the universe and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Saraswatī,[1] Lakṣmī[2] and the tutelary deities of the villages, towns and forests.[3] These deities occupied a much subordinate position.

Vedic Religion and Rituals

Bhavabhūti has advocated the importance of the Vedic religion and rituals which had receded into background in earlier period.[4] He frequently refers to kings and sages engaged in the performance of sacrifices and inviting others to join them.[5] *Śrotriya* and *pañtipāvana* Brāhmaṇas are also mentioned.[6] The Brāhmaṇas of Sāket have been presented with sacrificial vessels loaded on their shoulders and bearing the umbrellas given to them at sacrificial session.[7] The royal *Purohita* Vaśiṣṭha has been compared to the *Veda*,[8] whereas Viśvāmitra is described as the manifestation of the four fires and fifth *Veda*.[9] And the earth is stated to have been studded with sacrificial posts.[10]

Emphasising the efficacy of the Vedic knowledge, Bhavabhūti says that it makes the conduct of a person pure and spotless.[11] And Rāvaṇa was reproached for committing the heinous act of Sītā's abduction despite his study of the *Vedas*.[12] We are further told that the *Veda* mantras are more powerful than the gods Brahmā, Indra, Rudra, Varuṇa, Vāyu and Agni.[13] As a

the highest lord' (*MM*, I, 20). He was enquipped with bow and arrow made of flowers (*GV*, 57). There are also references to the temples of Kāma (*MM*, 1, p. 24, IX, p. 198). But Kāmadeva could never rise to the status of a cult deity.

1. *GV*, 47.
2. *Ibid.*, vv. 55-56.
3. *MVC*, I, 34; *URC*, II, pp. 55, 65. *Samarā* (Jacobi), IV, p. 192; *MM*, VI, p. 120.
4. *CA*, pp. 370-371.
5. *MVC*, I, vv. 15, 19 and p. 16, III, 5, IV, 57; *URC*, I, p. 12.
6. See chapter VI under 'Caste-system'.
7. *MVC*, IV, 57.
8. *Ibid.*, IV, 30.
9. *Ibid.*, I, 10.
10. *Ibid.*, IV, 31.
11. *Ibid.*, II, 18.
12. *Ibid.*, V, 18.
13. *Ibid.*, I, 46.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

destroyer of the demons, Rāma has been compared to the *Oṁkāra* of the *Vedas*, and his deeds to the incantation of the *Atharva Veda*.[1] He is also mentioned as a protector of the *Vedas*;[2] and Lord Śiva and Bhāskara are called the treasure of the Vedic knowledge.[3] Thus Bhavabhūti like Kumārila tried to revive the Vedic religion.[4]

Socio-religious Rites and Festivals

The *Yātrā*-festivals held in honour of Kālapriyanātha have been referred to above. A contemporary inscription also informs that the merchants of Jayapura were asked to celebrate the *Yātrā*-festival of Viṣṇu, for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa.[5] The fourteenth day of the month has been associated with the worship of Śiva.[6] *Sandhyā pūjā* was also observed.[7]

Some light is also thrown on the *tīrthas*[8] and the sanctity of the rivers and the seas. The Gaṅgā was considered as the most sacred river. It is mentioned as the family deity of the Raghus[9] and destroyer of all sins.[10] Bhavabhūti presents the Gaṅgā in her personified form.[11] Vākpati also upholds her sacredness.[12] The Yamunā has been associated with sages who

1. *MVC*, I, p. 30 and verse 62.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 7, IV, 44.
3. *Ibid.*, VII, 21.
4. Bhavabhūti is regarded by some as a disciple of Kumārila, but it is controversial. For details see Gangasagar Rai, *Mahākavi Bhavabhūti*, pp. 11-16.
5. Anjaneri plates, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 151.
6. *MM*, III, p. 66.
7. Vālmīki is stated to have gone to the banks of Tamasā for the observance of his mid-day *sandhyā pūjā* (*URC*, II, p. 54). A terracotta plaque from Pahārpur depicts a kneeling man with hands raised and looking through the fingers as if at the sun overhead (*MASI*, No. 55, p. 66).
8. Bhavabhūti compares the *tīrthas* to holy sages (*MVC*, V, p. 177) and makes mention of some sacred spots *viz.*, Kālapriya (*Ibid.*, I, p. 6; *MM*, I, p. 10; *URC*, I, p. 9), Pañcavaṭī (*URC*, II, p. 61), Janasthāna (*Ibid.*, II, p. 65) and Sītātīrtha (*Ibid.*, III, p. 77).
9. *URC*, VII, p. 166.
10. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 71.
11. *URC*, III, p. 75.
12. *GV*, vv. 59-61.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

practised penances on its banks.[1] The significance of these rivers (*viz.* Gaṅgā and Yamunā) is also evidenced by their appearance on the door-jambs of the temples.[2] Tamasā[3] and Mandākinī[4] were also held in high esteem. The Godāvarī,[5] Kāverī[6] and Muralā[7] were sacred rivers of south India. The confluences of the rivers were regarded as especially holy. Bhavabhūti makes mention of the sacred confluence of the Madhumatī and the Sindhu where stood the shrine of Śiva called Suvarṇabindu.[8] In the *Mahāvīracarita*, Sampāti is stated to have taken a dip in the sea for the sake of Rāma's welfare.[9] We are also told that Vāli liberated Rāvaṇa after taking a bath in the ocean and then performed the *sandhyā*.[10] The *Kuvalayamālā* refers to merchants who would sail out to foreign countries only after offering their worship to the sea.[11]

Buddhism

Buddhism attained the highest degree of splendour in India in the 6th century A.D.,[12] and thereafter decline set in it. This is evidenced by the observations of Hiuen Tsang[13] and more clearly by those of I-tsing.[14] From about 5th century A.D., the

1. *URC*, I, 50.
2. A door-jamb (now in the Mathura Museum No. 1205) assigned to c. 8th century A.D., bears a beautiful sculptural representation of the Gaṅgā. The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā also figure on the door-jambs of the Hari-Hara temples at Osia.
3. *URC*, III, p. 78.
4. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 67-100. Tamasā is also presented in her personified form.
5. *Ibid.*, III, p. 67.
6. *MVC*, VII, p. 223.
7. *URC*, III, pp. 67-70.
8. *MM*, IX, p. 177.
9. *MVC*, V, p. 172.
10. *MVC*, V, 37.
11. *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, p. 105.
12. Kern, *Histoire du Buddhism*, II, p. 455; R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 13.
13. See Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, pp. 100, 107 ff.
14. I-tsing observed that the teaching of the Buddha was becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day (Takakusu, p. 52); and that India was known as *Brāhmaṇa rāṣṭra* (*Ibid.*, pp. 118, 156).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mahāyāna sect was influenced by Tāntricism,[1] and, therefore, it naturally fell a victim to the allied evils like those of the Śaiva Tāntricism. But Śaivism survived and continued to flourish despite its lapses, and also absorbed a large number of Buddhists.[2]

Bhavabhūti has nicely and rather novelly brought to light the lapses that had sapped the strength of Buddhism and paved the way for its merger into the Brahmanical religion. He presents the Buddhist nun Kāmandakī and her three disciples namely Avalokitā, Buddharakṣitā and Saudāminī as the true representatives of the form of the Mahāyāna sect of the period. With a gourd-pot in hand and clad in tattered red robes, Kāmandakī lived on alms begging, being desisted from the worldly life.[3] She also did not marry in accordance with the tenets of her creed. But the sole object of her life was to bring about Mālatī's marriage with Mādhava at any cost, rather than to attain *nirvāṇa*.[4] She deputed Buddharakṣitā and Avalokitā for the purpose and herself acted as a go-between.[5] Therefore, Avalokitā[6] and Makaranda[7] were surprised at Kāmandakī's too much involvement in such an affair which was so much opposed to the life of renunciation.

Exhorting Mālatī to gather courage for the love marriage, Kāmandakī adduced the authority of Aṅgirā[8] and cited the examples of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta, Urvaśī and Purūravas from the Hindu mythology in support of her statement.[9] And Buddharakṣitā quoted *Kāmasūtra* in connection with the treatment meted out to married ladies.[10] Besides, Kāmandakī also went to the shrine of Śiva and addressed there a prayer to the Lord.[11]

1. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 271.
2. Also see Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 27.
3. *MM*, I, p. 13, IV, p. 83.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 9.
5. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 19-20. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Daśakumāracarita*, too, the Buddhist nuns are found acting as go-betweens (see R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 142).
6. *MM*, I, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, 6.
8. *Ibid.*, II, p. 53.
9. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 56-57.
10. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 144-145.
11. *Ibid.*, VI, 7. Also see *ibid.*, III, p. 65.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

As regards Saudāminī, she was formerly a favourite *śiṣyā* of Kāmandakī, but later on became a devout disciple of Aghoraghaṇṭa, and attained miraculous powers by practising penances, spells, mystic diagrams, and incantations at *Śrīparvata*,[1] which was a celebrated centre for esoteric activity.[2] And the power which Saudāminī thus attained enabled her to fly in the air,[3] to become invisible at her will and to perform astonishing acts.[4] She also paid tributes to Lord Śiva known as Suvarṇabindu.[5] But far from censuring her for the act of apostacy, Kāmandakī only praised her thus: 'You are the mistress of *Yogis*;[6] you hold the treasure of merits; your miraculous powers are covetable and you alone are fit to be adored by the world on account of your deeds which surpass even those of the Bodhisattvas.[7]

The above account not only throws light on the drastic changes and laxities which were brought about in Buddhism, but also acquaints us with the fact that it had become too close to the Brahmanical religion to save its separate entity. We have seen that the Buddhist nuns freely went to Śiva's temples and quoted Hindu authorities in support of their statements. And Saudāminī who became a disciple of the Kāpālika Aghoraghaṇṭa, was only admired by Kāmandakī. Besides, the Buddha himself was included in the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The earlier ethics of Buddhism neither favoured the idea of marriage,[8] nor the entrance of women into Saṅgha.[9] But such restrictions were relaxed even before the beginning of the Gupta period.[10] The evidence of the *Caca-Nāmā* shows that married monks were common in Sind.[11]

However, Buddhism was still an important religion. It was

1. *MM*, I, p. 18.
2. Nānyadeva comments: *Śrīparvatasyāneka mantrasādhanakṣetratvena*, *Ibid.*, Mangala Sharma's edition, IX, p. 203.
3. *Ibid.*, Kale's edition, IX, p. 176.
4. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 202-203.
5. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 177.
6. *MM*, IX, 53.
7. *Ibid.*, X, vv. 20-21.
8. Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 151.
9. A.K. Coomarswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 156.
10. *CA*, pp. 396-397.
11. R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 141.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

popular at Valabhī,[1] and in Sindh,[2] Bihar[3] and Bengal.[4] It also received some encouragement from Yaśovarman[5] and Lalitāditya.[6] Hui-ch'ao adds that both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were prevalent in central India[7] *i.e.*, Madhyadeśa, at the time of his visit.

Excess of wealth, settled life of the Buddhist monks, relaxation in the rules of ordination, entry of women into the Saṅgha and growth of immoral practices on account of the Tāntric influence appear to have been the main causes of the decline of Buddhism.[8] It was transformed beyond recognition and ultimately dissolved into the Brahmanical religion.

1. All the Maitraka rulers from Dhruvasena upto Śīlāditya VII actively patronised Buddhism (*Ibid.*, p. 37).
2. *HS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 106-109.
3. The Nālandā stone inscription begins with the following invocation to the Buddha: "Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emancipate living beings from the strong tangles of the world, and who felt exceedingly delighted after giving (his own) body to the supplicant, whose foot-lotus is rubbed by the gods, including Indra, and who is conversant with the real nature of all the categories" (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 45, verse 1). This inscription records the grants made by Mālāda to the order of the Buddhist monks (*Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 45-46).
4. Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, was a devotee and benefactor of Buddhism. During his reign an *upāsaka* built the Odantapurī monastery (*Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 259, 269).
5. Yaśovarman was a follower and patron of the Brahmanical religion but his minister Po-ta-hsin (Buddhasena) sent to the Chinese court, was a Buddhist (see Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 71; *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part I, p. 167). And according to Hui-ch'ao, all crimes at Kanauj were punished with fines (see Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 18).
6. Hui-ch'ao remarks, "The king and his wives and princes down to nobles and their wives, all build clousters to their means" (*Ibid.*, p. 21). His statement is confirmed not only by the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which refers to Kayyavihāra, Rājavihāra and the monastery of Kṛdārāma built during the reign of Lalitāditya (*RT*, IV, vv. 210, 220), but also by the extant remains of some of these (see R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 52-53). Lalitāditya's minister Caṅkuṇa was a Tāntric Buddhist. He got an image of the Buddha from Lalitāditya which the latter had brought from Magadha (*RT*, IV, 215).
7. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 271.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 267-269.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Jainism

The sources of the post-Gupta period do not give an impression of the prosperous condition of Jainism.[1] And the fact that the court poets of Yaśovarman do not make any mention of it, seems to show that Jainism was an insignificant religion in the realm of Kanauj.[2] But Yaśovarman's son and successor Āma was a zealous Jaina. He patronised the Jaina saint Bappabhaṭṭi who claims to have converted Vākpati to Jainism.[3] We are also told that Āma built the temples of Jina at Kānyakubja[4] and Gwalior.[5] His son Dunduka and grandson Bhoja too, were devout Jainas.[6]

The main strongholds of Jainism in northern India in the period under survey, were Rajasthan and Gujarat. The writings of Haribhadra and his disciple Udyotana Sūri gave a fresh fillip to its popularity in these regions. It is not possible to give here a detailed description of the exposition of the various aspects of the Jaina religion and philosophy found in the works of these writers. But we may refer some important observations of Haribhadra.

Offering his salutations to Ṛṣabha, Vardhamāna and the remaining twentytwo *Tīrthaṅkaras*,[7] Haribhadra adds that right belief, right knowledge and right conduct spoken by them, are desire-fulfilling jewels.[8] At another place he refers to twelve

1. See *CA*, p. 410.
2. Rājaśekhara, however, tells us that Yaśovarman became a Jaina in the closing days of his life (*Prabandhakośa*, p. 23), but this information seems dubious. For details see chapter III, part IV, under 'Religious leanings of Yaśovarman'.
3. *PC*, XI, vv. 606-614.
4. *JBBRAS* (N.S.), Vol. III, p. 105.
5. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 29.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 44, 45.
7. "Bow to Jina Ṛṣabha who has conquered the advance of the god of love; who has overcome men and gods; who is the abode of the auspiciousness in the three worlds; and whose gait is like that of a bull. And to self-born Vardhamāna . . . who has abjured pride; who possesses the highest knowledge; who is free from attachment, and is the lord of ascetics. The remaining twentytwo *Tīrthaṅkaras* stand at the head of the three worlds, and are free from the bonds of birth, old age and death" (*Samarā*, Modi, I, p. 3).
8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and ten duties respectively of a householder and a friar, adding that 'the fundamental thing of these twofold duties is right belief that becomes difficult to be attained by a living being wrapped up in the unending series of actions. That action is eightfold and its cause is false belief, ignorance, want of non-attachment, want of care, tainted feelings and sullied contacts.'[1] We are further told that 'when one's right belief remains unshaken, he obtains all (*i.e.*, right conduct etc.) in one birth without resorting to another way. On the completion of the way of his annihilation, he obtains the best absolute knowledge and revelation, eternal and unending. Thereafter with the remaining part of his actions which would bring about the rest of the birth, being annihilated and being thus free from all actions, he reaches the eternal place.'[2] Lastly, Haribhadra recommends the life of a friar to attain happiness.[3]

The ascendancy of the Brahmanical religion could not do as much damage to Jainism as it did to Buddhism. And on account of its rigidly codified character, Jainism saved its entity.

1. *Samarā* (Modi), I, pp. 5-6.
2. *Samarā* (Modi), I, pp. 58-59.
3. "A friar abstains from killing, falsehood, taking of things not given to him, sexual intercourse and possessions. He takes food purified of fortytwo *Esana* faults . . . He observes five rules of conduct and three rules of guarding one's conduct. He observes twentyfive *Bhavanas* in order to follow five *vratas* without transgressions. He principally observes non-eating, eating in a limited quantity, penitence and modesty etc., performing the external as well as internal penances. He observes various monastic standards, lives on alms-begging and his body is without nursing. He considers equal a straw, a gem, a clod and gold. He bears eighteen thousand subsidiaries of a good conduct . . . His body is refined with the practice of great austerities. He gives up his body by concentrated meditation and meets death according to the way preached by Jinas" (*Samarā*, Modi, I, pp. 60-61). For details regarding the different sects of Jainism and their doctrines etc. see J.L. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*; Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*; H.R. Kapadia, *Jaina Religion and Literature*, Vol. I; C.P. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India* etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bibliography

(i) Original Sources

Abhijñānaśākuntala of Kālidāsa Ed. S.K. Belvalkar, Delhi, 1965.

Ādi Purāṇa of Jinasena Varanasi, 1951.

Agni Purāṇa Anandashrama Press, 1900.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Translated by A.B. Keith, Cambridge, 1920.

Anargharāghava of Murāri Ed. Ram Chandra Misra, Varanasi, 1960.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya Translated by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1929.

Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa Ed. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1925.

Atharvaveda Berlin, 1856.

Bālabhārata of Rājaśekhara Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1927.

Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara Calcutta, 1884.

Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita of Mānikya Sūri Its text is given in *JBBRAS*, Vol. III (N.S.), 1928, pp. 313-325.

Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya Baroda, 1930.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa Venkateshvara Press, Bombay, 1913.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira Calcutta, 1880.

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa Oxford, 1893.

Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍī Varanasi, 1948.

Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya Varanasi, 1955.

Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra Bombay, 1943.

Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana Bombay, 1928.

Gauḍavaho of Vākpati Poona, 1927.

Harṣacarita of Bāṇa Ed. Jagannath Pathak, Varanasi, 1964; Translated by Cowell and Thomas, London, 1897.

Jain Harivaṁśa Purāṇa of Jinasena, Parts I-II, Bombay.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa Bombay, 1907.
Kādambarī of Bāṇa Translated by M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1928; Translated by Peterson, Bombay, 1900.
Kāmandakīyanītisāra, Parts I-III, Anandashrama, 1964.
Kavīndravacanasamuccaya Ed. F.W. Thomas, Calcutta, 1912.
Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara Baroda, 1934.
Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay.
Kūrma Purāṇa Venkateshvar Press, Bombay.
Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta Bombay 1924; Allahabad, 1961.
Kuvalayamālā of Udyotana Sūri, Parts I-II, Ed. A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1959.
Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay.
Ed. Todar Mall and revised by A.A. Macdonell, London, 1928.
Ed. A.R. Barua.
Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti Ed. by M.R. Kale, Delhi, 1967.
Ed. Mangala Sharma.
Ed. R.G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1905.
Revised by V.V. Mirashi, Poona, 1970.
Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa Ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1933.
Manusmṛti Ed. Hargovind Shastri, Varanasi, 1965.
Mṛcchakatika of Śūdraka Ed. M.R. Kale, Delhi, 1962.
Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta Ed. Somanath Rath Shastri, Varanasi, 1943.
Nāgānanda of Harṣa Banaras, 1947.
Nāradasmṛti Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, 1965.
Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin Oxford, 1937.
Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rama Candra Baroda, 1929.
Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa Kashmir series, Bombay, 1918.
Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara Ahmedabad, 1935.
Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhā Candra Bombay, 1909.
Priyadarśikā of Harṣa Ahmedabad, 1940. Ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1928.
Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa Ed. Hargovind Misra, Varanasi, 1961.
Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa Text, Delhi, 1960.
Translated by M.A. Stein, Delhi, 1961.
Translated by R S. Pandit, Allahabad, 1935.
Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki Varanasi, V.S. 2008.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ratnāvalī of Harṣa Ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1925.
Ṛgveda Ed. M.N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1906.
Samarāiccakahā of Haribhadra Ed. H. Jacobi, Calcutta, 1926. Bhava I, II and VI, Ed. M.C. Modi, Poona, 1935-36.
Śiśupālavadha of Māgha Ed. Hargovind Shastri, Varanasi, 1961.
Skanda Purāṇa S.V. Press, Bombay.
Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa of Bhoja Ed. by V. Raghavan, Bombay.
Subhāsitāvali of Vallabhadeva Bombay, 1886.
Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta, Vol. XII, Kashmir series, Bombay, 1938.
Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti Nirṇayasāgar Press, 1939.
Veṇīsaṁhāra of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa Ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1936.
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa Venkateshvar Press, Bombay.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa Ed. H.H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1961.
Viddhaśālabhañjikā of Rājaśekhara Calcutta, 1943.
Yājñavalkya Smṛti Bombay, 1949.

(ii) **Secondary Sources**

Adhya, G.L. *Early Indian Economics*, Bombay, 1966.
Agrawala, V.S. *Harṣacarita Eka Sānskṛtik Adhyayana*, Patna, 1953.
Kādambarī Eka Sānskṛtik Adhyayana, Vārāṇasī, 1958.
Śiva Mahādeva, Vārāṇasī, 1966.
Aiyangar, S.K. *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I, Poona, 1941.
Altekar, A.S. *Prācīna Bhāratīya Śikṣaṇapaddhati*, Vārāṇasī, 1955.
The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, 1956, 1962.
State and Government in Ancient India, Delhi, 1958.
The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, Poona, 1967.
Ali, Muzaffar *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, Delhi, 1966.
Awasthi, A.B.L. *Garuḍa Purāṇa Eka Adhyayana*, Lucknow, 1968.
Bagchi, P.C. *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, Calcutta.
Bajpai, K.D. *Bhāratīya Vyāpāra Kā Itihāsa*, Mathura, 1951.
Bandyopadhyaya, N.C. *The Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, Part II, Calcutta, 1938.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Banerjea, J.N. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956.
Religion in Art and Archaeology, Lucknow, 1968.
Banerji, R.D. *The Pālas of Bengal*, Reprint, Varanasi, 1973.
History of Orissa.
Bapat, P.V. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Delhi, 1956.
Barodia, U.D. *History and Literature of Jainism*, Bombay, 1909.
Basham, A.L. *Wonder That Was India*, London, 1954.
Basak, R.G. *The History of North Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1967.
Beal, S. *The Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, 1906.
Life of Hiuen Tsang, London, 1911.
Travels of Hiuen Tsang, Vols. II-III, Published by Susil Gupta, Calcutta.
Beni Prasad *The State in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1928.
Bandarkar, D.R. *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*—Appendices to *EI*, Vols. XIX-XXIII.
Bhandarkar, R.G. *The Early History of the Deccan*, Bombay, 1884.
Mālatīmādhava (Ed.) Bombay, 1905.
Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems of Ancient India, Strassburg, 1913.
Bhargava, Dayanand *Jain Ethics*, 1968.
Bhargava, P.L. *India in the Vedic Age*, 1956.
Bose, P.N. *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, Madras, 1923.
Buddha Prakash *Aspects of Indian History and Culture*, Agra, 1965.
Chakravarti, P.C. *Art of War in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1972.
Choudhury, G.C. *Political History of Ancient India from Jain Sources*, Amritsar, 1964.
Choudhuri, S.B. *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Part I, Calcutta, 1955.
Coomarswamy, A.K. *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, Bombay, 1956.
Cunningham, A. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Edited by S.N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924.
Coins of Medieval India, London, 1893.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Das, S.K. *Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1930.

Dasgupta, R.P. *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, Varanasi. 1973.

Dasgupta, S.N. and De, S.K. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1947.

Dasgupta, S.B. *Introduction of Tāntric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1950.

Date, G.T. *Art of War in Ancient India*, Oxford University Press, 1929.

Dave, J.H. *Immortal India*, Vol. IV, Bombay, 1961.

Davids, R.T.S. *Buddhism, Its Birth and Dispersal*, London, 1934.

Devahuti, D. *Harsha, a Political Study*, Oxford, 1970.

Dey, N.L. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971.

Dikshit, Ratnamayidevi, *Women in Sanskrit Dramas*, Delhi, 1964.

Dowson, John. *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, London.

Dubreuil, G.J. *Pallavas*, Pondicherry, 1917.

Dutt, N.K. *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, London, 1873.

Elliot and Dowson, *Historians of Sind*, Vols. I-III, Calcutta, 1955-1956.

History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. I.

Ettinghauson, M.L. *Harshavardhana: Emperour et Poet*, Paris, 1906.

Elliot, Sir Charles, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 Vols. London, 1921.

Frazer, R.W. *Literary History of India*, London, 1898.

Ghoshal, U.N. *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1957.

Ganguly, D.C. *Eastern Chālukyas*, Banaras, 1937.

Ghurye, G.S. *Indian Costume*, Bombay, 1951.

Gode, P.K. *Studies in Indian Literary History*, 3 Vols. Bombay, 1953-56.

Gonda, J. *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954.

Gopal, Lallanji *Economic Life of Northern India*, Vārāṇasī, 1965.

Gopalan, R. *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī*, 1928.

Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Hazra, R.C. *Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Rituals*, Calcutta, 1940.
Studies in the Upa Purāṇas, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1963.
Hiriyana, M. *Sanskrit Studies*, Mysore, 1954.
Hopkins, E.W. *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915.
Religions of India, Boston, 1895.
Hutton, I.H. *Caste in India*, Cambridge, 1946.
Indra *The Status of Women in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1955.
Jain, J.C. *The Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947.
Jain, Jyoti Prasad *The Jain Sources of History of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1964.
Jain, K.C. *Malwa Through the Ages*, 1972.
Jayaswal, K.P. *The Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934.
Hindu Polity, 1943.
Jaiswal, Suvira *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi, 1967.
Kak, R.C. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933.
Kane, P.V. *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vols. I-III, Poona, 1929, 1941, 1946.
Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa (in Hindi) Part I, Lucknow.
Kapadia, H.R., *Jain Religion and Literature*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1944.
Kaul, P.N. Bamjai *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962.
Keith, A.B. *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1947.
History of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1948.
Sanskrit Drama, Reprint, 1954.
Keith and Macdonell *Vedic Index*, Vols. I-II, Varanasi, 1958.
Kern, H. *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896.
Khan, H.G. *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, 1930.
Karmarkar, A.P. *The Religions of India*, Vol. I, Lonavla, 1950.
Krishnamachariar, M. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.
Krishna Rao, M.V. *Gaṅgas of Talkad*, Madras, 1936.
Law, B.C. *Geographical Essays*, London, 1937.
Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954.
Ancient Indian Tribes, 1934.
Legge, J. *Record of Buddhist King* (An account by Fahien of his travels in India and Ceylon), Oxford, 1886.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Macdonell, A.A. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900.

Majumdar, A.K. *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956.

Majumdar, B.K. *The Military System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955.

Majumdar, R.C. (Ed.) *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Reprint, 1971.

Ancient India, Delhi, 1975.

Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalker, A.D. (Ed.) *The Vedic Age*, 1957.

The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1960.

The Classical Age, Bombay, 1962.

The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1955.

Malalashekhara *Dictionary of Pali proper names*, 1937.

Marshall, J. *Mohenjodāro and Indus Civilization*, Vols. I-II, London, 1931.

Max-Muller *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1912.

Mirashi, V.V. *Indological Studies*, Vol. I.

Bhavabhūti, 1973.

Misra, Y. *Hindu Śāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab.*

Mitra, R.C. *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Shantiniketan, 1954.

Mookerji, Radha Kumud *Ancient Indian Education*, Delhi, 1960.

Monier Williams *Religious Thought and Life in India*, London, 1891.

Moraes, M.G. *Kadambakula*, Bombay, 1931.

Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā*, Allahabad, V.S. 2007.

Sārthavāha, Patna, 1953.

The History of Indian Costume, *JAOS*, Vol. XII, 1944.

Mukerji, S.C. *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal*, Calcutta, 1966.

Munshi, K.M. *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I, Bombay, 1955.

Nathu Ram *Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1942.

Ojha, G.S. *Rājpūtāne Kā Itihāsa*, Ajmer, 1936.

Om Prakash *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961.

Oppert, G. *Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims*, Madras, 1880.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pandey, D.B. *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab*, Delhi, 1972.
Pandey, K.C. *Abhinavagupta, an Historical and Philosophical Study*, Varanasi, 1963.
Pandey, L.P. *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, 1971.
Pandey, M.S. *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*.
Pandey, R.B. *Hindu Saṁskāras*, Varanasi, 1949.
Historical and Literary Inscriptions, Varanasi, 1962.
Panikkar, K.M. *Śrī Harsha of Kanauj*, 1922.
Pargiter, F.E. *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1962.
Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 1962.
Pathak, V.S. *Ancient Historians of India*, Bombay, 1966.
Śaiva Cults in Northern India, Varanasi, 1960.
Philips, C.H. *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, 1961.
Pires, E.A. *The Maukharis*, Madras, 1934.
Pischel, R. *Grammatik Der Prakrit*, 1900.
Prabhu, P.H. *Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay, 1958.
Princep, J. *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I.
Puri, B.N. *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, Bombay, 1957.
Raghvan, V. *Six Old Rāma Plays*, 1961.
Rai, G.C. *Studies in the Development of Ornaments and Jewellery in Proto-Historic India*, Varanasi, 1964.
Rai, G.S. *Mahākavi Bhavabhūti*, Varanasi, 1965.
Rai, Manmath *Prācīna Bhāratīya Manorañjana*, Allahabad, V.S. 2013.
Rao, Gopinath *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, Vol. II, Parts I-II, Madras, 1914-1916.
Ray, H.C. *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Reprint.
Ray, S.C. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, 1957.
Raychaudhuri, H.C. *The Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953.
The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, Calcutta, 1936.
Reu, B.N. *Glories of Marwar*, Jodhpur, 1943.
Marwar Kā Itihāsa, Part I, Jodhpur, 1938.
Sachau, E.C. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, London, 1910.
Sahu, N.K. *Buddhism in Orissa*, Utkal, 1958.
Saletore, B.A. *Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions*, Bombay, 1963.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sankalia, H.D. *University of Nālandā*, Delhi, 1972.
Archaeology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941.
Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana *History of Indian Logic*, Reprint.
Bhavabhūti, translated in Hindi by Jivala Dutt Sharma, Lucknow, V.S. 1981.
Sengupta, Padmini *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, 1950.
Sen, A. *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*, 1931.
Shah, G.C. *Jainism in North India*, London, 1932.
Sharma, Brij Narain *Social Life in Northern India*, Delhi, 1966.
Sharma, Brijendra Nath *Social and Cultural History of Northern India*, New Delhi, 1972.
Sharma, Dasharatha *Early Chāhamāna Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959.
Rājasthān Through the Ages (Ed.), Bikaner, 1966.
Sharma, R.S. *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1959.
Indian Feudalism (c. 300-1200 A.D.) Calcutta, 1965.
Śūdras in Ancient India, Delhi, 1958.
Shastri, K.A.N. *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, from the earliest times to the 16th century, London, 1929.
Foreign Notices of South India, Madras, 1939.
History of South India, Oxford University Press, 1966.
Shastri, Nemicandra *Ādi Purāṇa meṅ Pratipādita Bhārata*, Varanasi, 1968.
Singh, Ayodhya Prasad *Bhavabhūti aura unakī Nāṭyakalā*, 1967.
Singh, Ram C. Prasad *Kingship in Northern India*, Delhi, 1968.
Sinha, B.P. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, 1954.
Sircar, D.C. *Select Inscriptions* bearing on Indian History and Civilization from 6th century B.C. to 6th century A.D., Calcutta, 1942.
Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi, 1960.
Studies in Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967.
The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, Calcutta, 1965.
Smith, V.A. *Early History of India* (4th Edition), London, 1957.
Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta, Oxford, 1906.
Sörensen, S. *An index to the names in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1963.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Srivastava, Balram *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1968.

Srivastava, B.N. *History of the Maukharis of Kanauj* during the 7th century A.D., Lucknow, 1957.

Sternhach Ludwig *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*, Vols. I-II, 1965-1967.

Takakusu, J.A. *Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago*, by Itsing.

Stevenson, S. *Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915.

Thakur, Upendra *Huṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1966.

Thomas, E.J. *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1933.

Tod, J. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1920.

Tripathi, R.S. *History of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1959.

Upadhyaya, Bharat Singh *Buddha Kālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola*, Allahabad, 1961.

Upadhyaya, Vasudeva *The Socio-Religious Condition of North India*, Varanasi, 1964.

Utgikar, N.B. (Ed.) *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, Poona, 1928.

Vaidya, C.V. *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, 1921, Vol. II, 1924 (Poona).

Vardachariar, S. *Hindu Judicial System*.

Varma, V.P. *Studies in Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*, Delhi, 1959.

Virji, J. *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, Bombay, 1952.

Watters, T. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, London, 1904.

William, Monier *Buddhism*, London, 1889.

Wilson, H.H. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1960.

Hindu History of Kashmir.

Winternitz, M. *History of Indian Literature*, English Translation, Vols. I-II, Calcutta, 1927, 1933.

Yazdani, G. (Ed.) *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol. I, London, 1960.

(iii) Journals and Periodicals

Adyar Library Bulletin, Vols. X, XXXIII.

Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vols. VIII, XVIII, XXII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Archaeological Survey of India, Vols. II, III, VIII, XV and Reports for 1902-1903, 1903-1904, 1925-26.

Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Vol. II, 1907.

Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Annual Report for 1919-1920.

Asia Major, Vol. I.

B.C. Law Volume.

Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. VIII.

Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., No. 4, 1974.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. VII.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Vārāṇasī, 1963; IV, Part I, Ootacamund, 1955.

D.R. Bhandarkar Volume.

District Gazetteer of the United Provinces, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, Allahabad, 1911.

Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX.

Epigraphia Indica, Vols. I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XII, XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

Geschichte d'indischen Litteratur, Vol. III.

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1888, Vol. II.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford, 1908, Vol. XIV.

Indian Antiquary, Vols. IV, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XLII, LXI.

Indian Archaeology—A Review 1955-56.

Indian Culture, Vols. III, XI, XIV, XV.

Indian Review, March, 1941.

Indo-Asian Culture, Vol. XII.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vols. VI, VII, VIII, XI, XVIII, XXIX, XXX.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 84, No. 4, 1964.

Journal Asiatique, 1895.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vols. X, Part I, XVIII, XXIII, XXX, XXXI, XLI (Numismatic Supplement).

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLV, Parts I-II, 1959, LIV, Parts I-IV, 1968.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIX.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI (old series), Vol. III, New Series, 1928.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X.
Journal of Indian History, Vols. IV, V, X, Part I, Supplement, XXII, LXII, Part III, LXV, Part I.
Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XXIII.
Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. III, 1929.
Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vol. X, Part I.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain, Vol. XIII and 1852, 1894, 1903, 1904, 1908, 1909, 1927.
Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Part II.
K.A.S. Iyer Felicitation Volume, Lucknow, 1976.
Kurukshetra University Research Journal, Vol. I, No. I, March, 1967.
Marg, Vol. XII, March, 1959.
Marwar Gazetteer, 1977.
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 5, 66, 73.
Modi Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1930.
Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume.
Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888.
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Sessions III, VI.
Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference, Sessions VI and VII, Part II.
Quarterly Journal of the Mythological Society, Vol. V, 1915.
Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume, Varanasi, 1969.
V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume, Delhi, 1975.
Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. II, Part II, 1964 and Vol. IV, Part III, 1966, 1893 and Vol. XL.
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 115, Heft I, 1965.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Index

Abhinavabhāratī 104
Abu 47
Acalapura 142
Ādi Purāṇa 193
Administrative organisation 137-145
Āditya 95
Ādityasena 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 64
Agastya 203, 208
Aghoraghaṇṭa 164, 216, 217
Agrawala, V.S. 215
Ahichchhatra 194
Ahirole 49
Aiyangar, S.K. 61, 67, 81, 88, 125
Alberuni 167
Alaṁkāracūḍamaṇi 108
Altekar, A.S. 51, 132, 159
Āma 67, 108, 115-116, 117-120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 131, 165
Āmarāja 66
Amarakantaka Hill 73
Amarakośa 196
Amarū 55
Ambala 74
Amber 33, 221
AMMK 44, 63
Ānanda 132
Ānandavardhana 104
Anargharāghava 72
Anirjitavarman 62
Antarvedī 109
Arab 46, 50, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 84, 91
Arabian Sea 72
Arhanta 114
Arjuna 36, 37
Arthaśāstra 32
Aruṇāśva 36
Āryarāja 29, 63
Asahāya 31, 129, 136, 138, 152, 153, 154, 155, 159, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 183, 185, 191, 194, 204, 207
Aśoka 63
Aśokarāja 47, 62
Āśramas 170-172
Aṣṭāvakra 135
Āśvalāyanalaghusmṛti 173
Ātreyī 204
Atrigupta 105, 109, 208, 210
Avantivarman 37, 125, 126
Ayodhya 77, 110, 114, 126, 127, 137, 139
Āyudha 125

Bactria 90
Bādāmī 50, 51, 53
Baghelkhand 71
Bahrīmad 55
Bailmān 55, 56
Bakerganj 71
Bālı 87
Balkh 90
Bāṇa 23, 67
Banaras 41
Banerji, Adris 71, 87, 88, 111, 112
Banerji, R.D. 79
Bangladesh 71
Bappabhaṭṭi 66, 116, 123
Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita 26, 34, 62, 114, 115
Bappā Rāwal 48
Barūs 55, 56
Barwas 55
Basak, R.G. 37, 43, 78, 80
Bāuk 45
Bay of Bengal 75, 88, 92

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bay of Cambay 73
Bengal 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 59, 71, 72, 75, 89, 118, 149, 163
Bhandarkar, D.R. 38, 39, 43, 73, 121
Bhandarkar, R.G. 67, 98
Bhaṅgala 43
Bharatpur 33
Bhartṛvardhana 47
Bhāruci 31, 32, 134, 136, 138, 141, 144, 145, 155, 169, 182, 183, 191, 192
Bhāsa 108
Bhavabhūti 21, 22, 67, 94, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225
Bhāskara 223
Bhavanāgā 51, 52
Bhāvaprakāśana 104
Bhawnagar 53
Bhillamala 47
Bhīma 74
Bhīmasena 38
Bhoja 122, 124, 125, 127, 128
Bhojadeva 39
Bhojadeva I 38
Bhogavarman 37, 38
Bhūmilikā 89
Bhūrivasu 139, 175, 176
Bihar 40, 59, 78, 89, 110, 118
Bikaner 45, 46
Bilāduri 46, 54, 55, 56
Bilhaṇa 23
Birbhum 44
Brahmā 131, 221
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 62
Brāhma-vivāha 175-177
Bṛhaspati 140
Broach 47, 53, 54, 55, 73
Buddha 28, 214
Buddha Prakash, 37, 61, 65, 87, 125, 126
Buddhism 224-227
Bühler, G. 24-25, 35
Burnell 72, 208

Caca 54
Caca-Nāmā 38, 39, 54, 55, 66, 164, 166, 168, 195, 226
Cakradeva 156
Cakrāyudha 125, 127
Cāḷukyas 50-53
Campā 72
Cāmuṇḍā 217
Cāṇakya 109
Candara 38, 54
Caṇḍarudra 157
Caṇḍasena 156
Caṇḍīkā 219
Candragupta Maurya 29, 30, 62, 63, 122
Candrāpīḍa 58, 60, 162, 166
Candravaṁśa 61
Cāpas 46
Cape Comorin 72
Caste system 163-170
Central India 38, 66
Chakiya 37
China 37, 57, 58, 65, 110
Chitor 48, 83
Choudhury, G.C. 83, 125
Cola 40
Coronation ceremony 131-133
Cunningham, A. 30, 31, 38, 61, 78, 110, 113

Dacca 71
Dadda I 48
Dadda II 49
Dadda III 49, 50, 51
Daharsiā 54
Dāhir 54, 55, 149, 164, 182, 189, 192
Dahnaj 55, 56
Dakṣiṇāpatha 52, 56, 85
Dantidurga 46, 86
Daśaratha 131

 CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Daśarūpaka 103
Dasgupta, S.N. 25
Daulatpur 38
Debalpur 55
Deccan 59, 85, 86, 87, 92, 97, 99
Deo-Barṇārk ins. 41, 42, 64, 77, 144, 220
Derrett, J.D.M. 31
De, S.K. 25
Devadārus 69
Devadhara 152
Devagupta 38, 40, 41, 64, 78, 79
Devakhaḍga 42
Devanaṇdin 143
Devapāla 83, 110
Devarāja 45
Devarāta 139, 164
Devavarman 62
Dhana 157, 216
Dhanaśrī 157
Dhanika 48
Dharaṇa 143, 157, 158
Dharānanda 22
Dharasena IV 53, 137
Dharma 26, 44, 82, 107, 116, 118, 119, 122
Dharmabhūpa 118
Dharmabhūpāla 118
Dharmānandana 209
Dharmapāla 43, 83, 118
Dharmaśāstras 134, 159, 171, 177, 179, 192, 193
Dhavala 48, 137
Dhavalappadeva 48, 137
Dhrubhaṭa 136
Dhūrtākhyāna 32, 184
Dhvanyāloka 103, 108
Ḍiṇḍirāja 29, 38, 39, 63
Dowson, John 56
Dṛḍhavarman 126, 137, 139
Dress 195-198
Dṛṣadwatī 74
Dughikā 170
Dunduka 116, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128
Durgagaṇa 48
Durgilaka 219
Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya 57, 58
Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II 30
Durlabhavardhana 57, 90
Durmukha 144
Duryodhana 74
Dwarka 69, 73, 75, 89

Education 202-209
Espionage 144-145

Faridpur 71
Farrukhabad 70
Fleet 41, 77
Food and drinks 193-194

Gādhipura 69, 70, 94, 105
Gandhāra 90
Gāndharva-vivāha 177-178
Gaṇeśa 221
Gaṅgā (river) 70, 71, 87, 144, 223, 224
Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab 87, 88
Gangas 86
Garhwal 74
Gauḍa 22, 24, 25, 26, 34, 44, 71, 72, 75, 81-83, 88, 107, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122
Gauḍabandha 108, 116
Gauḍavaho 22-27, 28, 31, 62, 63, 64, 73, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 90, 91, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 108, 113, 119, 150, 177, 218, 221
Gaya 71
Ghanaśyāma 22, 130, 204
Ghazipur 41, 77
Ghoshal, U.N. 33
Ghosrāwa 78, 110
Ghurye, G.S. 196
Giriyek 110
Godāvarī 224
Goetz, H. 97, 98
Gokarna Mahabaleshvar 72
Gomatī 41, 77
Gomatikoṭṭaka 41, 77
Gopāla 43, 44, 83
Govinda-III 120
Govindacandra 43

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Grahavarman 37
Guhadatta 48
Guhilas 48
Gujarat 45, 50, 56, 59, 60, 73, 85, 89, 115
Guṇacandra 130
Guṇaratna 107
Guṇasena 134
Gupta, R.D. 159
Gurjara-Pratihāras 44-46, 112
Gurjaras 48-50
Gwalior 46, 92, 116, 120, 121, 126, 127

Habīb 55
Hakim al-Kalabī 56
Hansot ins. 47
Hari 100, 112, 136
Haribhadra 32, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 137, 139, 144, 156, 160, 170, 171, 174, 176, 182, 183, 191, 192, 200, 206, 210, 216, 228, 229
Hari-Hara temple 33
Haripāla 69, 74, 82, 99, 100, 102, 113, 148
Hariścandra 44, 108
Hariścandranagarī 69
Harṣa 23, 36, 37, 38, 43, 49, 88, 129
Harṣacarita 23
Harṣadeva 81, 82
Harṣavardhana 38, 104
Hertel, J. 25, 111
Himalayas 74, 75, 90, 91, 97
Hiuen Tsang 42, 44, 47, 57, 62, 166, 224
Hoernle 30
Ho-lo-she-pu-lo 57
Hui-ch'ao 32, 41, 54, 64, 66, 75, 77, 79, 80, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 148, 161, 227
Huviṣka 113

Iliya 37
Indra 131
Indra I, 51, 52
Indraji, Bhagwan Lal 144
Indrāyudha 125
Indus Valley 149
I-tsing 166, 224

Jabalpur 71
Jacobi, H. 25, 98, 99, 100, 102
Jagaddhara 21, 177, 187, 194, 196, 197, 199
Jahtal 39
Jain HVP 33, 184
Jainism 228-229
Jaipur 33
Jaisalmer 55
Jaisimha 55, 149
Jālandhara 91, 93
Jalor 47
Jamunā 98
Janaka 172, 204, 205
Jānakī 135
Jānakīharaṇa 32, 151, 180, 194, 213
Janārdana 136
Jan Yun-hua 98
Jātakhaḍga 42
Jātukarṇi 106
Jayabhaṭa III 49
Jayabhaṭa IV 49, 50, 54, 56
Jayabhaṭa V 54
Jayanāga 44
Jayānaka 23
Jayapīḍa 30, 119
Jayapura 223
Jayasimhavarman 49, 50, 51, 53
Jayaswal, K.P. 41, 63-64, 78, 159
Jayavardhana 42
Jayavardhana II 78, 137
Jessore 71
Jhalrapatan ins. 48
Jinasena 168
Jīvitagupta II 41, 42, 64, 77, 79, 137, 147, 149
Jñānanidhi 106
Jodhpur 45, 46, 55
Judicial system 151-158
Jullundur 97
Junaid 55, 56, 59, 85
Jurj 56
Jurz 55
Jvalanamitra 108

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kabul 58-59, 90
Kādambarī 219
Kairā 51, 52
Kajaṅgala 44
Kālapriyanātha 111, 112, 220, 223
Kālasena 219
Kalhaṇa 33, 34, 57, 64, 65, 88, 91, 94, 95, 96, 104, 109
Kālī 216, 218
Kālidāsa 76, 101, 106, 108, 182
Kālikā 88, 94
Kālīnadī 88
Kālpī 33, 112, 220
Kamalāyudha 108
Kāmandaka 134, 140
Kāmandakī 175, 176
Kāmarūpa 81, 82
Kāmasūtra 225
Kāñcī 86
Kāngrā 56, 85, 97
Kaniṣka 113
Kānyakubja 32, 36-39, 62, 70, 94, 95, 109, 121, 132
Kanyakubjorvī 88
Kāpālikas 216-217
Kapālakuṇḍalā 216
Karālā 217
Kārkoṭa 31, 33, 36, 57, 59, 65, 90
Karṇasuvarṇa 44
Kashmir 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 55, 57-58, 59, 60, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 104, 105, 109, 110
Kāsim 39, 54, 55, 59, 66, 149, 165, 166, 189
Kathiāwār 53, 56, 88
Kātyānī 219
Kātyāyana 159
Kauśāmbī 209
Kauṭilya 32, 144
Kāverī 72, 224
Kāvyādarśa 108
Keith, A.B. 23, 25
Keśava 112, 136
Ketu 99
Khaḍga 42, 43, 80
Khaḍgodyama 42
Khalimpur 43, 132
Khulna 71
Khummaṇa I 48
Kielhorn, F. 38, 78, 110, 121
Kīra 56, 85
Kīraj 55, 56
Koimbatur 72
Koṅkaṇ 50, 72
Kotah 48
Krishṇā (river) 86
Kṛṣṇa 100, 136, 213
Kumāradāsa 32, 137, 164, 174, 177, 179, 183, 191, 194
Kumārapāla 121
Kumārila 194, 223
Kuntīdeva 108
Kūrma Purāṇa 169
Kurukshetra 69, 74, 91, 93, 111
Kuśa 130, 202, 204
Kuśīnagara 32
Kuśīnārā 41
Kusumāvalī 176
Kutch 56
Kuvalayacandra 130, 174, 207
Kuvalayamālā 32-33, 126, 130, 132, 137, 139, 148, 198, 207, 208, 224

Lakhnauti 72
Lakṣmaṇa 131
Lakṣmaṇasena 72
Lakṣmaṇeśvara ins. 143, 161
Lakṣmī 136, 157, 158, 161
Lakṣṇāvatī 72, 82
Lakulīśa 216
Lalitacandra 43, 80, 81
Lalitāditya 27, 29, 33, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 104, 109, 110, 119, 137, 148, 150, 164, 182, 213, 220
Lalitapura 95
Lambaka 90
Lamghan 90
Lampaka 90
Lāṭa 47, 49, 56, 85, 89, 198
Lava 130, 170, 202, 204, 205, 206
Lokanātha 43, 80
Lucknow 33

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mādhava 164, 216, 217
Madhumatī 215, 224
Mādhavagupta 36, 39
Madhu 108
Madhumathavijaya 108, 119
Madhyadeśa 59
Madra 90. 119, 120
Madramahīvijaya 108, 119
Madura 86
Magadha 32, 36, 39-42, 47, 59, 60, 62, 64, 71, 76-80, 81, 82, 88, 118, 137
Magadhatīrtha 116, 121
Māgha 32, 101, 151, 192, 212
Mahābhārata 69
Mahābodhi 41
Mahāvīracarita 21, 107, 135, 140, 145, 149, 178, 179, 180, 183, 187, 191, 197, 213, 224
Mahendra 74
Mahendravarman I 104
Mahī 49, 50, 51, 53
Mahīdhara 152, 153
Mahiṣāsura 218, 219
Mahiṣāsuramardinī 220
Mahodaya 38, 70
Mahumahavijaya 108, 119
Maikala 71
Maitrakas 53-54
Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad 216
Majumdar, A.K. 35
Majumdar, R.C. 23, 27, 33, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 55, 56, 67, 79, 80, 81, 87, 121
Mākaṇḍī 143
Makaranda 176
Mālāda 113
Mālatī 175, 176, 216, 217, 218
Mālatīmādhava 21, 107, 139, 142, 146, 181, 183, 184, 190, 196, 197, 217
Malaya-mountains 68, 72, 75, 85, 88
Māliba 55
Malibah 55
Mālva 55
Malwa 27, 30, 45, 47, 53, 115
Mālyavān 139, 140
Mānabhaṅga 134
Mandākinī 224
Mandal 55, 56
Mandara-mountains 69, 74, 90
Mandasor ins. 27, 28
Mandor 44, 45, 83
Maṅgalarasa 51, 52
Mangraon ins. 41
Mānikyāla 110, 113
Manorathavarman 37, 38
Manu 134, 140, 144
Manurāja 48
Manusmṛti 31
Marmad 55, 56
Maru-*deśa* 69, 73, 83-84
Maru-Māra 55
Mārtaṇḍa 220
Marwar 73, 83, 84, 89
Mathura 29, 30, 33, 38, 47, 48, 63, 108, 194
Mauryas 47-48
Māyāditya 144
Medhātithi 31
Mewar 83
Mihira Bhoja 39, 46, 125, 127, 128
Military organisation 146-151
Mirashi, V.V. 50
Mirzapur 71, 77
Mishra, Harihara 22
Mithilā 72
Mitraśarmā 94, 98, 150, 164
Moḍherakapura 115
Moharapura 121
Monghyr 71
Moriyas 48
Mrithyunjayan, A.K. 27
Muhammad ibn-Kāsim 39, 54, 55, 59, 66, 149, 165, 166, 189
Munshi, K.M. 121
Muralā 224
Murāri 72
Murshidabad 44
Mysore 86

Nāgabhaṭa I 46-47, 56, 60, 83, 84

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nāgabhaṭa II 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127
Nāgāvaloka 47, 116, 121, 122, 123
Nālandā ins. 27-29, 31, 75, 78, 89, 103, 106, 135, 143, 203
Nālandā University 105, 208
Nandana 176
Nāndīpurī 48, 89
Nandivarman II 86
Nānyadeva 21, 197
Nārada 153, 159
Nāradasmṛti 31
Nārāyaṇa 46
Narmadā 49, 50, 51, 53, 68, 73, 75, 92, 97
Nāsik 50
Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa 103
Nāṭyadarpaṇa 104
Nausārī 50, 52, 53, 56, 59, 85, 144
Navasārikā 56
Nepal 37, 137
Nīlakaṇṭha 106
Noakhali 71
Northern India 32, 34, 36, 38
N.W.F.P. 89, 90

Oḍiviśa 43
Ojha, G.H. 45, 121
Oka-Mandal 56
Orissa 43
Ornaments and jewellery 198-201
Osia 33, 213, 214
Oxus 90

Padmā 127
Padmapura 106
Padmāvatī 143, 208, 217
Page, J A. 27
Pahārpur 146, 213, 214, 221
Pallavas 86
Pāñcāla 70, 132
Pandey, K.C. 109
Pandit, S.P. 25, 34, 65, 81, 196
Pan-nu-t'so 57
Pārasīkas 68, 73-74, 84-85
Paraśurāma 164, 171, 172
Parihāsapura 97, 98
Patna 71
Pauṇḍra 42
Persia 73
Pires, E.A. 61, 67, 79
Porus 149
Prabandhakośa 26, 34, 64, 66, 72, 108, 114, 115
Prabhāvakacarita 26, 34, 62, 64, 66, 72, 114, 115, 119
Prahasta 149
Pratihāras 46, 83, 84, 120, 127, 128
Pṛthvīrāja 52
Pṛthvīrājavijaya 23
Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya 85
Pulakeśirāja 50, 52, 53, 56, 144
Punch 57, 97
Puṇḍravardhana 44, 88
Punjab 30, 45, 57, 85, 89, 90, 91, 93, 119, 121
Purdā 186-188
Puri, B.N. 121, 124
Pūrṇavarmā 47, 62
Puruṣadatta 176
Puṣpabhūti 23, 74
Pu-tasin 65

Ragholi plates 42, 78
Raghu 75, 76
Raghuvaṁśa 76, 190
Rai Haracandara 39, 66
Rājagṛha 41, 116, 117, 118, 120
Rajanīramaṇa 62
Rājarājabhaṭa 42, 43, 80
Rājaśekhara 34, 70
Rājataraṅgiṇī 33-34, 64, 65, 95, 97, 105
Rajgir Hills 110
Rajputana 45, 46, 59, 60, 73, 84, 85, 89, 92
Rājasimha 86
Rajasthan 199
Rākṣasa-vivāha 51, 179
Rāma 67, 112, 114, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 144, 149, 151, 168, 169, 173, 174, 205, 213, 223, 224
Rāmabhadra 124, 128

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rāmābhyudaya 103, 104, 105, 112, 213
Rāmasainya 115
Rāmāyaṇa 21, 103, 135, 142, 178, 180, 183, 186, 204, 206, 213
Ram Krishna Kavi, M. 105
Raṇadhīra 86
Ranmul 38
Rasal 38
Rasapāla 83
Ratnagaṅgā 121
Rāvaṇa 67, 72, 87, 134, 137, 139, 140, 149, 150, 222, 224
Rāyagaḍ plates 87
Ray, H.C. 42, 78, 80, 81
Ray, S.C. 104, 105
Revatī 218
Ṛgveda 211

Śaila 42, 78
Śailodbhava 87, 88
Sāket 222
Śakti cult 217-220
Śākuntalam 190, 193
Samarāiccakahā, 32, 142, 143, 148, 160, 161, 162, 170, 179, 180, 188, 207, 219
Samaraketu 142
Samataṭa 44
Śambuka 168
Saṁkaravarman 104, 105
Sampāti 224
Saṁskaras 172-174
Samudrasena 116
Sanjan 120
Saraswatī 74, 89
Sarnath 41, 42, 77
Śaśāṅka 43, 44. 115
Sastri, Hirananda 27
Śatānanda 164
Satī 192-193
Satpura 73
Saudāminī 216
Seng-po-ta 65
Shahabad 41, 71
Sharma, Dasharatha 121
Sharma, Mangala 197
Sialkot 119
Siddhasena 115
Siharasa 38, 39
Śīlāditya 51
Śīlāditya III 49, 53
Śīlāditya IV 49, 53
Śīlāditya V 49, 54
Śīluka 45, 46
Simha 176
Sind 32, 38, 54-57, 59, 66, 91, 161, 167, 195
Sindhu 215, 224
Sinha, B.P. 37, 38, 41, 79, 81
Sircar, D.C. 37, 38, 67, 97, 98, 118, 121
Śiśupālavadha 32, 146, 148, 193
Sītā 131, 134, 135, 172
Śiva 28, 72, 112, 114, 131, 214-215, 223
Śivadeva 137
Skanda Purāṇa 121, 165
Smārtadhurdhara 153, 159, 160, 164
Smārtaśekhara 153, 159, 160, 164
Smith, V.A. 30, 37, 67, 75, 90, 97
Son 71
Śoṇa 68, 71, 77
South India 72
Śrī 63, 64
Śrīdhara 152, 153
Śrīkaṇṭha 69, 74, 91, 93, 106
Śrīparvata 216
Śrīpuruṣa 86
Śrīvardhana 78, 79
Srivastava, B.N. 37
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa 103
Sthāṇīśvara 74
Stravaṇī 45
Subandhu, 108
Subhāsitāvali 103
Sucandravarman 37
Sumeru 74
Sūrasena 37
Sūri, Mānikya 34
Sūri, Prabhācandra 34
Sūri, Udyotana 33, 126, 131, 134, 138, 144, 174, 177, 179, 210, 228
Suvadana 157, 158

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Suvarṇagotra 32
Suyaśā 115
Svaṁvara-vivāha 178-179

Taban 45
Ta-cha-shi-lo 57
Tājjikas 47, 49, 50, 52, 56, 74
Tamasā 224
Tamīm bin Zaid al Utbī 56
Tāmralipti 44, 158
Tāpagaccapaṭṭāvali 34
Tāranātha 43, 80
Tārāpīḍa 58, 60
Taxila 59
Thaneswar 74, 92
Tikina 89, 113, 143
Ti-mo-si-no 38
Tippera plate, 43, 80
Tīrabhukti 88
Toilet and coiffure 201-202
Toppā 157, 158
Trailokyalakṣmī 99
Travancore Hills 72
Tripathi, R.S. 37, 62, 67, 75, 76, 79, 81, 98, 112, 121
Tripurāri 21, 197, 199
Trivarga 127
Tu-lo-pa 57
Tungabhadrā 86

Udaipur 48
Udīcī 89
Udīcyadeśa 90
Udyotana 33, 126, 131, 134, 138, 144, 174, 177, 179, 210, 228
Ujjain 46, 99, 142
Ujjayinī 56
Uśanas 140
Utgikar, N.B. 25, 98
Uttaradiśā 74, 90
Uttararāmacarita, 21, 107, 130, 135, 144, 146, 169, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192, 204, 205, 213
Uttar Pradesh 40, 59, 63, 70, 71, 77
Uzain 55, 56

Vaidya, C.V. 61, 65, 75, 78, 81, 87, 125
Vaiṣṇavism 211-214
Vajjaḍa 49, 50, 51, 53
Vajrāta 53
Vajrāyudha 125
Vākpati 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 105, 107-109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 119, 123, 133, 135, 136, 138, 147, 148, 149, 183, 187, 191, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 208, 210, 214, 217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 228
Valabhī 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 89, 137
Vāli 224
Valla 45
Vallamaṇḍala 45, 55
Vālmīki 172, 203, 205, 208
Vaṅga 42-43, 68, 71, 80-81, 88
Varāha 135
Varanasi 32, 37, 38, 77, 79
Vardachariar, S. 159
Vardhanakuñjara 116
Vāruṇikā 41
Vaśiṣṭha 131, 163, 171, 222
Vāyu Purāṇa 62
Vengī 86
Veṇīsaṁhāra 132
Vibhīṣaṇa 131
Vidarbha 106
Vidyabhusana, S.C. 83
Vijayāditya 40, 41, 51, 86, 87, 88
Vijayasena 170
Vikramāditya 86
Vikramāditya I 50
Vikramāditya II 52, 53
Vikramāṅkadevacarita 23
Vinayāditya 40, 51, 53, 87, 88
Vindhya 71, 73, 77, 78
Vindhyavāsinīdevī 68, 71, 77, 113, 218
Vīradeva 110
Vīrarāghava 21, 130, 167, 197
Viṣṇu 29, 108, 112, 211-214
Viṣṇugupta 41, 78, 79

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Viṣṇuvardhana II 86
Viśvāmitra 131, 222
Vividhatīrthakalpa 34

Wala 53
Wang-hiuen-tse 36
Western Ghats 72, 84, 92
Wilson, H.H. 97, 98
Winternitz, M. 25

Yamunā 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 98, 223, 224
Yaśodharman 27, 28, 30, 115
Yaśovarman
as a builder 110
as an author 103-104
as a statesman 109-110
battle with Lalitāditya 92-95
conquests 67-69
early life 63-64
extent of dominions 88-92
fight with Pārasīkas 84-85
his personality 103-114
his successors 115-128
lineage 61-63
luminaries of his court 106-109
reign period 64-67
religious leanings 111-114
pastimes and amusements 110-111
titles 137
Yaśovarmapura 78, 110
Yaśovarmapurav ra 110
Yazīd 55
Yi-sha-fu-mo 65

Zabul 58-59, 90

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	*For*	*Read*
7 footnote 1 add under 'Gādhipura', after part II.		
9 line 19	750-53 A.D.	749-53 A.D.
24 footnote 2, line 2	*āvali*	*āvalī*
24 ,, ,, 13	*eyaṁ purumilla*	*eyaṁ. Purumilla*
31 ,, 1 add under 'Extent of Yaśovarman's Dominions', after part III.		
33 line 27	belief	beliefs
40 ,, 5	Cola	Coḷa
50 footnote 1, line 3	contiention	contention
51 ,, 5, ,, 1	Cāḷūkya	Cāḷukya
53 line 13	Dharāśaya	Dharāśraya
62 footnote 1, line 1	*rayaṇi*	*rayaṇī*
62 ,, 1, ,, 2	*una*	*uṇa*
65 line 12	adverse	averse
66 footnote 6, line 1	*Śatāśṭake*	*Śatāṣṭake*
66 ,, 6, ,, 3	*dīkṣityā*	*dīkṣitvā*
67 ,, 1, ,, 4	*praisit*	*praisīt*
69 line 16	expeditions.	expeditions,
74 footnote 1, line 5	Tājjaika	Tājjika
80 ,, 2, ,, 2	A.C.	A.D.
82 ,, 6, ,, 5	*Lakṣṇāvati*	*Lakṣṇāvatī*
83 line 29	*jagrhe*	*Jagrahe*
86 ,, 15	Tungabhadra	Tuṅgabhadrā
88 ,, 22	*Antarvedī*	Antarvedī
90 footnote 2, line 2	*Sāṁskritic Adhyayana*	*Adhyayana*
97 line 22	convicing	convincing

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Page	*For*	*Read*
101 footnote 2, line 5	*bubbhanti*	*vubbhanti*
101 ,, 4, ,, 1	*Śatrūṇamaniśaṁ*	*Śatrūṇāmaniśaṁ*
101 ,, 6, ,, 1	*Anurā*	*Aṇurā*
104 line 11	'*Rāmābhyudaya*'	*Rāmābhyudaya*
104 footnote 7, line 3	*Kāñcī*	*Kāñchī*
107 ,, 1, ,, 1	*Vīrarāghava*	Vīrarāghava
109 ,, 2, ,, 1	*prāgra*	*prāgrya*
109 ,, 3, ,, 2	*syakaṁ*	*svakaṁ*
113 line 10	point out to	point to
113 footnote 2, line 2	*viyaya*	*vijaya*
115 ,, 2, ,, 2	*pradhāna puruṣāḥ*	*pradhāna-puruṣāḥ*
116 line 14	victor.	victor'.
119 ,, 23	*Madra*	Madra
123 footnote 1, line 12	Harṣa	Harṣā
130 ,, 1, ,, 2	*pariniṣṭhāpitaḥ.*	*pariniṣṭhāpitāḥ.*
130 ,, 1, ,, 2	*varṣe-kṣātreṇa*	*varṣe Kṣātreṇa*
134 footnote 7, lines 1-2	*anunmatasyon-mmattava*	*anunmattasyon-mattava*
134 ,, 7, line 5	*pakṣikaḥ*	*pākṣikaḥ*
134 ,, 7, ,, 8	*puriṣa śarīrā*	*purīṣa śarīra*
134 ,, 7, ,, 9	*pīḍati*	*pīḍāti*
134 ,, 7, ,, 13	*mṛgavāyām*	*mṛgayāyām*
135 line 10	*yolokapālaḥ*	*yo lokapālaḥ*
140 footnote 4, line 4	(*Samarā* (Modi),	(*Samarā*, Modi,
141 ,, 1, ,, 3	*pratita*	*pratīta*
141 ,, 5, ,, 3	(*Samarā* (Modi),	(*Samarā*, Modi,
143 line 8	anually	annually
144 footnote 1 add Vol. XXX, before p. 9.		
149 line 21	*Mahāviracarita*	*Mahāvīracarita*
151 footnote 8, line 2	*War Maxims,*	*Political Maxims,*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Page	*For*	*Read*
152 ,, 1, ,, 1	33	p. 33
153 line 30	*'onus probandi'*	*onus probandi*
155 footnote 2 add Vol. XXX, before p. 22.		
163 (heading)	*The Brāhmaṇas*	*Brāhmaṇas*
169 footnote 6 add Vol. XVI, before vv. 185-186.		
169 ,, 8 add Vol. XXX, before p. 18.		
170 ,, 1 add Vol. XXX, before p. 13.		
171 line 9	*āraṇyakavrata*	*Āraṇyakavrta*
171 omit (heading) *Vānaprasthāśrama and Sanyāsa*		
172 line 17	*sanyāsin*	*Sanyāsin*
176 ,, 27	betel	betels
180 footnote 1, line 2	Ghaṇaśyāma	Ghanaśyāma
182 ,, 10 add Vol. XXX, before p. 19.		
189 footnote 8	*ibid.*,	*URC*,
190 ,, 8, line 2	did not	does not
191 ,, 9 add Vol. XXX, before p. 12.		
203 footnote 4, line 4	*mānayāyaḥ*	*mānayāvaḥ*
203 ,, 4, ,, 6	on	in
219 line 2	Caṇḍīkā	Caṇḍikā
221 footnote 9, line 1	'Maghavan'	Maghavan
221 ,, 9, ,, 2	*Ahilyājāra*	Ahilyājāra
222 line 22	enquipped	equipped
222 footnote 6	'Caste-system'.	'Caste-System'.
226 line 4	*Śrīparvata*	Śrīparvata
226 ,, 13	Bodhisattvas.	Bodhisattvas'.
233 ,, 21	*Sānskṛtik*	*Sāṅskṛtika*
239 ,, 4	Jivala	Jvala
240 ,, 5	Sternhach	Sternback
240 ,, 8	Itsing	I-tsing
242 ,, 26	Vol. IV, Part III, 1966, 1893 and Vol. XL	Vol. IV, Part III, 1966

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Page	*For*	*Read*
242 last line add Vol. XL, 1893, before Band 115, Heft 1, 1965.		
243 Index	*Alaṁkāracūḍa-maṇi*	*Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi*
244 ,,	Caṇḍīkā	Caṇḍikā
247 ,,	Kātyānī	Kātyāyanī
248 ,,	Mākanḍi	Mākaṇḍī
250 ,,	*Saṁskaras*	*Saṁskāras*
251 ,,	Tungabhadrā	Tuṅgabhadrā

Wherever the following place-names occur, they should be read as Ayodhya, Saket, Varanasi, Sarnath, Mithila, Kalpi, Gwalior, Nasik and Kathiawar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh